DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 336 282 SO 021 080

TITLE The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Teacher's Guide. Revised Edition.

INSTITUTION Indiana Univ., Bloomington. Russian and East European Inst.

PUB DATE 90

NOTE 119p.; For earlier editions, see ED 286 782 and ED 312 209.

PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Area Studies; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Foreign Culture; Global Approach; *International Studies; Learning Activities; Multicultural Education; Social Studies; Teaching Guides; Teaching Methods; World History

IDENTIFIERS *Europe (East); Global Education; *USSR

ABSTRACT

An overview of the histories and cultures of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe is provided for K-12 teachers in this guide. The guide is not intended to serve as a comprehensive history, nor as an in-depth analysis of the political and economic systems of these countries. It is hoped that teachers will share the information with students by incorporating the material into the daily curriculum or through special units on the Soviet Union and/or Eastern Europe. Suggestions are made for classroom or individual study projects. Puzzles are provided to familiarize students with vocabulary. A 90-item bibliography of materials also is included in the guide. (DB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Teachers' Guide

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

ELEANOR VALENTINE-JAKUBIAK

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Prepared by
the Indiana University
Russian and East European Institute
New Revised Edition
Spring 1990

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This publication is intended to provide teachers, primarily K-12, an overview of the histories and cultures of the countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It is not intended that this guide serve as a comprehensive history, nor as an in-depth analysis of the political and economic systems of these countries. It is hoped that teachers will share the information with students via incorporation into the daily curriculum or through special units or projects on the Soviet Union and/or Eastern Europe. Suggestions are made for classroom or individual study projects. Puzzles are provided to familiarize students with vocabulary.

The dynamic events of 1989-90 have led to a major revision of the guide this Spring 1990. With this revision the guide will take on a loose-leaf format so that subsequent updates and revisions might be incorporated as required.

Outreach services of the Indiana University Russian and East European Institute can be utilized to supplement the guide. These services include the Outreach Speakers' Bureau, which sends university faculty and graduate students free of charge to speak to your classroom, school or community group on almost any Russian, Soviet or East European area or language topic; presentations to meetings of social studies teachers (state-wide, system- or district-wide, or individual schools); honors seminars for high school students, providing an opportunity for students to visit the Bloomington campus as well as explore a USSR/EE topic; the willingness to review lesson plans and classroom projects for accuracy, to offer suggestions, or answer general questions about this world area; and a lending library of audio-visual materials for which the only cost is return postage and insurance. Write to the address below to request a free copy of the REEI Resource Guide to Teaching Aids in Russian and East European Studies (throughout this guide you will find references to some of these materials). Our outreach program is rather flexible, and if you'll let us know how we can best serve your needs, we'll make an effort to respond.

Included in the guide is a bibliography of materials for further reference. Other helpful publications include items produced in conjunction with the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education. Teaching About the Soviet Union is a two page document that lists what is important to teach about the Soviet Union, where it belongs in the curriculum, teaching strategies, and references and ERIC resources available. The ERIC Reference Sheet on the Soviet Union (11 pages) lists professional organizations, journals and newsletters, National Resource Centers, ERIC resources, journal articles, and student and teacher resources. For copies of these documents (50¢ each) write to ERIC, 2805 East Tenth Street, Suite 120, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405.

The original concept of this guide was developed by Karen S. Niggle, REEI Outreach Coordinator from 1984 to 1989. REEI graduate assistants contributing their talents to the original document (1986-87) included Robin Bisha, Melissa Bokovoy and Phyllis Schrock. Eastern Europe additions and revisions were effected in 1988-89 through graduate assistants Tim Costello, John Cox, Shaun Gelsinger and Sue Panek. A major revision of the guide was carried out in April 1990 under the direction of Ellie Valentine-Jakubiak by REEI Graduate Assistants Bryan Costello, D. Michael DeLuca, Suzanne Polak, and Larry Wright. The section on the GDR was prepared by Brett Thomas and Pam Allen.

For information on REEI services contact Outreach Coordinator Ellie Valentine-Jakubiak.

Russian and East European Institute
Indiana University
Ballantine Hall 565
Bloomington, Indiana 47405
(812) 855-7309; 855-0391

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	i
Table of Contents	ii
Soviet Union:	
Geography	1
Education	4
Lifestyle and Cost of Living	9
US/Soviet Price Comparison	13
Government and Communist Party	14
Centrally Planned Economy	16
Religion	18
Chronology of Soviet History	20
Map and Statistics	26
Cyrillic Alphabet	27
USSR Word Search Game	28
USSR Geography Puzzle	29
Key to Game and Puzzle	30
Eastern Europe:	
Introduction	32
Map	35
Political and Economic Systems	38
Albania	35
The Baltic States	43
Bulgaria	51
Czechoslovakia	57
The German Democratic Republic	66
Hungary	73
Poland	81
Romania	92
Yugoslavia	100
Bibliography for Eastern Europe	108
Eastern Europe Word Search Game	111
Eastern Europe Geography Puzzle	112
Key to Game and Puzzle	113

Please note that a map of each East European country precedes the discussion of that country.

THE SOVIET UNION

GEOGRAPHY

Land mass: area in square kilometers 22,402,076; miles 8,649,489. Two and one- half times the size of the US.

The USSR is divided into 15 Union Republics (SSR's), 20 Autonomous Republics (ASSR's), 8 Autonomous Regions (AR's), and 10 Autonomous Areas (AA's). All these divisions are made on the basis of national groups which occupy the territories. The 15 Union Republics are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Russian Federation (RSFSR), Tadzhikstan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. The Union Republics are the primary administrative divisions of the country.

Each republic contains a considerable number of ethnic groups. The largest ethnic groups in the USSR in descending order are: Russians (137.4 mil.); Ukrainians (42.3 mil.); Uzbeks (12.5 mil.); Byelorussians (9.5 mil.); Kazakhs (6.6 mil.); Tartars (6.3 mil.); Armenians (4.2 mil.); Georgians (3.6 mil.); Moldavians (3.0 mil.); Lithuanians (2.9 mil.); Tadzhiks (2.9 mil.); Turkmens (2.0 mil.); Germans (1.9 mil.); Kirgiz (1.9 mil.); Jews (1.9 mil.); Chuvash (1.8 mil.); Latvians (1.4 mil.); Bashkirs (1.4 mil.); Moldavians (1.2 mil.); Poles (1.2 mil.); Estonians (1.0 mil.); others (9.8 mil.) The US government does not recognize the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian republics as part of the USSR--in protest of the annexation of the formerly independent Baltic nations by the Soviet Union in 1940.

The official stand of the Soviet government is to tolerate separate cultural identities; however, ethnic Russians (approximately 52% of population) continue to dominate the government and managerial positions. Russian is the official language of administration and education throughout the country. The best educational institutions are in Moscow and Leningrad, where Russian is the language of instruction. To advance in one's career beyond the local or republic level, Russian language skill is a necessity. "Russification," the process of imposing the Russian culture and language on the other nationalities, has been used as a means of developing unity throughout the USSR. Television promotes Russian language and culture. Although each republic has its own film industry and TV language channel, the bulk of Soviet programming is in Russian.

Traditionally, Russians have been encouraged to move to the non-Russian republics to ensure that Russians maintain at least a strong minority presence in the other republics. Many moved because of economic reasons; the Baltic republics have a higher standard of living than the Russian Republic. As a result, many republics, particularly in the European part of the Soviet Union, have significant Russian populations. In fact, the majority of the population of Tallin (the capital of Estonia) is now ethnically Russian. The policies of "russification" and the monopolization of positions of power in non-Russian republics by Russians are major causes of many of the numerous nationality problems in the Soviet Union today.

Nationality problems are not confined to anti-Russian sentiments. Traditional disputes which have lasted for centuries often erupt into violent clashes between ethnic groups. The most significant of these is the dispute between the Christian Armenians and the Muslim

Azeris. A major factor in this dispute is the administrative status of the Nargorno-Karabakh region, a region inside Azerbaijan and not contiguous with Armenia that has a predominantly Armenian population. Armenians are demanding that the region be placed under the authority of the Armenian S.S.R. The violent pogroms directed against the Armenian population of Baku in January 1990 resulted in the intervention by the Red Army, the imposition of martial law in the republic, and thousands of Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan fleeing to other republics. These Armenian refugees were then targets of further violence in Dushanbe, the capital of the Tadzhikistan S.S.R., where there was a fear that the refugees would be given preference over the overcrowded native Tadzhik population in the allocation of scarce housing. Similar incidents have occurred in Uzbekistan. Other major ethnic disputes have involved Abkhazians in the Georgian S.S.R., who desire to have the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic removed from Georgian authority and placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian republic, and thousands of Meshketian Turks who were massacred by Uzbeks in the Fergana Valley of Uzbekistan during the summer of 1989.

The situations of the Baltic Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are especially unique and we refer the reader to a separate section on the Baltic Republics in the East European section of this guide.

As one of the 15 union republics, Russia, or more properly, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, is part of the Soviet Union, not synonymous with it. It is the largest, most populous, and most politically influential republic. Historically, the name Russia was synonymous with the Russian Empire, which had imperial control over most of the area which is now the Soviet Union.

The position of the country relative to the US helps in understanding Soviet agriculture, transportation, and exploitation of natural resources. Leningrad is on the same latitude as Anchorage, Alaska. Moscow is on the same latitude as the far north reaches of Ontario Province on the Hudson Bay--farther north even than the southern tip of Alaska. Southernmost regions of the USSR are on a comparable latitude with the northern border of Alabama, but are mountainous so have different weather than Alabama.

Due to the far northern location, significant portions of the USSR experience the summer phenomenon known as "white nights" in which the sun does not set and its winter counterpart of extended darkness.

There are large expanses of land unsuitable for agricultural cultivation. The country ranges from desert to forest, steppes to swamp, mountains to tundra. There is a short growing season for a large part of the country. Areas with warmth often lack water, and areas with water may lack warmth. Much of the country's water comes from snow. Most of the rivers of Siberia run north to the Arctic Sea, as a result, their economic utility is limited. Significant environmental damage occurred and many economic resources were wasted as a result of attempts by the Soviet government to reverse the flow of these rivers. In addition, improper diversion of the rivers which flow to the Aral and Caspian Seas has caused massive environmental damage to these inland seas. (See National Geographic, February 1990 for an article on the Aral Sea, "A Soviet Sea Lies Dying" p. 73.)

Natural resources are for the most part abundant, but much is located under swamps and in permafrost areas, so extraction is difficult and expensive. Of necessity, the Soviet Union has developed the technology to transport electricity across great distances.

The large size of the country has an impact on its management. The USSR has excellent public transportation systems in the cities--one is never more than a very short distance from a bus or subway line and they're efficiently run (out of necessity since cars are a luxury item). They have an excellent rail system--second only to the US in total track, but first in amount transported by rail. Weather and soil conditions make it impossible for the Soviets to have a highway system comparable to the US. Roads in areas such as Siberia, experience repeated freezing and thawing, resulting in potholes, cracks and buckles. The distance between communities, the availability/proximity of repair materials and the sheer number of miles of roads affected, make it practically impossible to keep the roads in good condition. The needs of northern cities are met by a variety of transportation services, including ships (until the ports freeze), trucks and airplanes.

The IU Russian and East European Institute has a book, filmstrip and cassette tape (available for loan at no charge) that discusses Siberia, including the use (and dangers) of ice rivers for trucking in the winter.

Exercises: 1. Compare latitudes of USSR with other countries. Discuss relationship to climate and affect on transportation and lifestyle. Have students think of ways their lives would differ if they lived in Siberia in winter (artificial soles on shoes would crack in cold; homes would have a different look because of need to preserve heat; diet would change as caloric needs increased and food selection was limited due to transportation problems) 2. Mapmaking- draw and label a map showing certain features of the USSR-cities, mountains, rivers, or even crops, rainfall and industrial production of various regions. Perhaps overlays for a map on the overhead projector covering various aspects of climate or production. 3. Diary- describe what you would see on a train (or car) trip between Tbilisi (or Alma-Ata, Baku) to Leningrad. 4. Skits- a) compare occupations of various regions as affected by geography; b) central planners discussing transport problems; c) meteorologist-weather report for nation. 5. Write a report on the problems and challenges presented by the geography (eleven time zones; winter transportation; why are people attracted to live in areas with harsh climates?). 6. The Trans-Siberian Railway is the longest in the world. Write a report on what one might see on a rail trip. 7. Define white nights, tundra, taiga, permafrost.

Research Projects: 1. List all the Union Republics and their capital cities. 2. Write a report on one national group of the USSR. Describe how this group is defined as a nationality (religion, language, culture...) 3. Compile a list of all (c.100) national groups living in the USSR. 4. Pick a significant feature of USSR natural geography and write a report (Lake Baikal, Ural Mountains, Caspian Sea, Volga River). Write a report on the problems and challenges presented by the geography (eleven time zones; winter transportation; why are people attracted to live in areas with harsh climates?). 6. The Trans-Siberian Railway is the longest in the world--write a report on what one might see on a trip.

The Indiana University Russian & East European Institute has available for free loan a USSR map "game," transparency masters for the Soviet Union and its republics, a film strip, cassette tape and accompanying book on Siberia. The Smithsonian Institution has produced a tape to accompany the exhibit "Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska," which tells the history of the north Pacific rim.

National Geographic frequently has maps of the Soviet Union, including the March 1990 issue.

EDUCATION

Great educational reform is being carried out in the Soviet Union in 1990. In general, the description given here is accurate to 1989. An update of this section is forthcoming.

School is much more regimented in the Soviet Union than in the US. Students study six days per week (September-May) with preparation for vocations beginning very early in the student's career. Testing and tracking begin in the mid-teen years. Parents in the various republics have a choice as to whether to send their to a school taught in the language of the republic or in Russian. Textbooks are published in 45 of the Soviet Union's languages. Special schools exist which use foreign languages, such as English, as their language of instruction. Education in the lower grades is used as a means of linguistic and cultural assimilation. Russian is necessary for students who will continue their education because Russian is the teaching language in the major institutions of higher education as well as the major publications. Organization and content of Soviet education is much the same in all parts of the country since it is centrally planned. The same books are used throughout the country. Teachers have the option of using nationally prepared lesson plans.

Important adjuncts to school are the youth groups: the Octobrists (under age 10), the Young Pioneers (over age 10), and the Young Communist League (in Russian: *Komsomol*, ages 14-28).

Children start school at age 6, often after preschool or kindergarten but not always. There are 11 "forms" instead of 12 grades as in USA. All students start foreign language study in 5th grade. Schooling is compulsory for a minimum of nine years. These years are for general education, and no tracking (or streaming) takes place. Approximately 60% of students go on to complete the last two years of the full ten/eleven year program and prepare for competitive college entrance exams. Approximately 1/3 of these are admitted to college. Completion of ten/eleven years is necessary to enter higher education. See the attached description of recent Soviet education reforms.

Secondary specialized schools prepare students for a wide variety of occupations, with most students entering after nine years of school and remaining for four more years. Some choose to finish the full eleven-year program and spend only two years to complete the specialized program. Other students go to vocational-technical schools which teach the theory and practice of a particular trade. Upon graduation, all students are assigned to a job by committee. Students and their parents may try to influence the decision of the committee since these assignments affect future career possibilities. The jobs are to be held for at least three years before a change is made, but this is not a hard and fast rule, and it is sometimes possible for students to break their work contracts.

There are special schools for physically and mentally handicapped students which follow the ordinary curriculum as close as possible. Other special schools gear students for careers in the military, the arts, and science and mathematics. Another special type of school is the boarding school--usually reserved for children of single parents or orphans. Some schools have extended school days to accommodate working parents.

The average number of hours spent on homework is four--the youngest have two hours; the oldest five-six hours. Many parents think this is too much. Even first graders have homework right away.

Higher Education

The best institutes and universities are located in the larger cities of European Russia, particularly Moscow and Leningrad. Specialized institutes are often more prestigious than universities. (For example, the Moscow institutes of foreign languages, foreign affairs and cinema are especially popular.) A student's higher education usually determines his or her entire career. There is no returning to school for a career change later in life, although there are evening education programs such as those offered to provide workers an opportunity to complete their higher education.

Academic records, Komsomol records, entrance exam placement, and connections play a role in college acceptance. If not admitted on the first try, options include work and/or night school; vocational/technical school, and trying year after year to gain college admission. If males are not in college by age 18 they must serve two years in the army or air force or three years in the navy. They then have preference for college admission. College males have military deferment but may end up serving after college or for a longer period in the Soviet equivalent of our military reserves. Males and females who do two years work in a factory or field of their academic choice, are more likely to gain college admission.

Teachers are trained in special pedagogical institutes. There are several degrees that can be earned through graduate study which are roughly equivalent to our master's and Ph.D. degrees as well as a program that could be termed a "super Ph.D." This last group composes the top academics in their fields.

Classroom scenario: It is a typical Saturday and students are in school, seated at their desks awaiting a test. The girls are wearing dark skirts with attached bibs, white blouses, and red neckties which cross diagonally at the throat. Several of the girls wear one or two large, flouncy bows to ornament their hair. The boys wear dark pants, white shirts and red neckties. They all sit quietly in their seats, feet on the floor, arms crossed (hand to elbow) on top of their desks. Tanya wants to ask a question, so she raises her hand, lifting it so that her elbow still remains on the desk. The teacher acknowledges her gesture and Tanya stands beside her desk and asks, "Svetlana Alexandrovna, what day is the field trip to Lenin's tomb?" The teacher replies that the trip is scheduled for Tuesday and reminds the students to wear warm coats and gloves.

It is time for the exam to begin: The teacher says, "Sasha, what is four multiplied by nine?" Sasha stands and responds "Madam Svetlana Alexandrovna, four multiplied by nine is thirty-six." The teacher responds "Correct" and Sasha sits down. He is relieved that his exam is over.

This is an example of a disciplined classroom. Even so, the classroom atmosphere can be quite lively. Hands are often vigorously waved in an attempt to capture the teacher's attention. Students wear uniforms everyday and they rise to greet the teacher when he or she enters the room. They sit when they are invited to do so by the teacher.

It is common that exams are oral rather than written and that each student is asked only one or two or three questions--providing just a few opportunities to impress the teacher with their mastery of the subject.

NOTE: As students age they are increasingly less likely to wear school uniforms. Older students in some areas wear jeans to school.

Exercises: 1. Learn patronymics for each student and teacher and practice class time "Soviet style." Take father's first name and for boys add -ovich, for girls add -ovna. For example, Brad Petrovich or Ann Alexandrovna. 2. Essay, diary or skit: a) as parents plan the educational career of your new baby; b) a group of kids discussing their educational futures.

The Indiana University Russian & East European Institute has available for free loan a 60 minute 1/2" VHS videotape titled "Video from Russia--Children: The Privileged Class." The film provides glimpses of how parents, educators and the system relate to children from the cradle to the first school years. Produced by Danmarks Radio, 1988.

The OCTOBRISTS

Most students become involved in the political organization associated with their age group while in the first grade. Seven-year-olds, upon entrance into school, automatically become Young Octobrists. They wear a five-pointed badge depicting Lenin as a boy. Octobrists work in groups of five along with an older Pioneer to prepare themselves for membership in the Pioneers. The "laws" Octobrists are taught to obey are:

1. Octobrists are future Pioneers.
2. Octobrists are diligent, study well, like school, and respect grown-ups.
3. Only those who like work are called Octobrists.
4. Octobrists are honest and truthful children.
5. Octobrists are good friends, read, draw, live happily.

The PIONEERS

At age ten Soviet children don red scarves and join the Pioneers. Membership is highly desirable and prized by most students. During the third year of school, only one half of the students are selected for membership. The remaining half is initiated into the organization at various points during the fourth year.

Comparable organizations in the US are the Girl and Boy Scouts, but there are some important differences. Membership in the Scouts is largely a reflection of the choice of the individual and his or her parents. Although membership in the Pioneers is theoretically voluntary, in fact it is a prerequisite for a healthy social life while growing up in the USSR.

The basic unit of the Pioneer Organization is in the classroom and is linked with other class units into a school-wide organization. By involving students in meetings and activities, the Pioneer organization teaches the students about the political philosophy of the Communist party and socializes young Soviets in values the leadership considers beneficial for society: good study and work habits, respect for authority, and conformity to group or collective principles.

Soviet youth are inducted into the Pioneer Organization with fanfare and ceremony. They make the following pledge at their initiation:

> The Pioneer adheres to the motherland, the party, communism.
> The Pioneer prepares to become a Komsomol member.
> The Pioneer emulates the heroes of struggle and labor.
> The Pioneer reveres the memory of the fallen fighters and prepares to become a defender of the motherland.
> The Pioneer is persistent in studies, work and sports.

The Pioneer is an honest and true comrade and always stands for the truth.
The Pioneer is a friend and leader of the Octobrists.
The Pioneer is a friend to other Pioneers and to the children of workers of all countries.

Although political indoctrination, discipline and mobilization of children for social and moral purposes are clearly factors involved in membership in the organization, the activities of the Pioneers are primarily social, academic, cultural and recreational.

The KOMSOMOL

During the last two years of high school, students may choose to apply for membership in the Komsomol organization (All-Union Leninist Communist Union of Youth). Unlike the Octobrists and Pioneers, membership in the Komsomol is more selective. Still, about seventy percent of those eligible to join are admitted. To become a member, the Soviet student must be admitted by the selection committee of the school Komsomol organization. Membership in the Komsomol is considered to be an achievement, and is almost a prerequisite for future membership in the Communist Party.

Komsomol activities are generally overseen directly by the Communist Party. Members are encouraged to play an active role in political education and socio- political life. They organize and participate in a variety of activities for the Octobrists, Pioneers and themselves including: tutoring, study groups for academic and political purposes, construction brigades, agricultural harvest teams, factory work, and leisure activities.

Besides those activities sponsored by various political organizations, young people in the USSR enjoy a variety of sports and leisure activities. In the cities students love going to the circus, theaters, ballets and concerts. As in the US, kids play card games, hopscotch, soccer and tag. In the winter, children in the north ice-skate, cross-country ski, and throw snow balls.

From Soviet Students Speak to America: An Inside View of Soviet Schools
1984 Tides Foundation/US-USSR Youth Exchange Program

Recent Soviet Education Reforms
From the Soviet publication USSR 100 Questions and Answers (Novosti Press, Moscow, 1984).

The draft of the CPSU Central Committee's Guidelines for Reform of General and Vocational Schools put forward for nationwide discussion in January 1984 and endorsed by the USSR Supreme Soviet in May said that over a period of five to ten years universal secondary education would be supplemented with a universal vocational training.

This complex and important task has been necessitated largely by the fact that our economy is being geared to intensive development, a process which will be completed by the late 1980s. Over this period the country's productive forces will experience deep-going changes, and this will naturally affect the system of personnel training and, consequently, the system of schooling.

We have experience in such reorganization. In the 1930s we adopted universal four-year education, in the 1950s eight-year and in the 1970s ten-year education. Today our ten-year school gives pupils, in addition to a secondary education, certain work or vocational skills.

So far their "practical grounding" has been weaker than their "theoretical grounding." The opposite is the case with those who finish vocational schools, which admit pupils who have had at least eight years of schooling and train them as skilled workers.

Secondary vocational schools (SVS) have managed to achieve a closer unity of "theory" and "practice". Their pupils leave with a certain qualification in a trade (like those at ordinary vocational schools) as well as a school-leaving certificate (like those issued at ordinary secondary schools). Today the country has nearly 4,600 secondary vocational schools; this is more than half the number of all kinds of vocational schools. The reorganization of vocational schools into secondary vocational schools will obviously continue.

Sooner or later all young workers who start work in industry will have had not only a general secondary education but also broad vocational training in a trade.

In the main the school reform will have been carried out before 1995. We shall mention only a few of the planned measures. For example, children will start school at the age of six, not seven as now; incomplete secondary schooling will last nine years, not eight, and complete secondary schooling will last eleven years, not ten. The age of our school-leavers will not change, since children will have started school at six instead of seven. This will reduce the information load and the pupil will have more time and energy for adequate vocational training.

After nine years at school some pupils will of course go on to the 10th and 11th forms, and afterwards to higher educational establishments. Others will go to specialized secondary schools to study for four more years. Those who want to become skilled workers within three years and at the same time hold a school-leaving certificate equivalent to that of an eleven-year general school (which gives the right to be admitted to a higher educational institution) will go to vocational schools. Someone who has completed eleven years of schooling and who goes to a secondary vocational school (because, say, he has failed to gain admittance to a college) will have to study for just one instead of three years there. In any case he is guaranteed good vocational training combined with a general secondary education. This combination will be even more closely interrelated because the quality of instruction and education in the first nine years of schooling and in the 10th and 11th forms will be raised considerably.

The system of vocational guidance will be improved with a view to helping pupils choose a trade or career. An immediate task is to improve the contents of school curricula and textbooks, removing from them material that is superfluous and too complicated, to modernize teaching methods and aids, and to provide secondary and vocational schools with the latest equipment, including electronic computers. In short, our aim is to improve considerably the quality of teaching, of general education and especially of vocational training, and to intensify polytechnical education.
The IU Audio-Visual Center has available for rent the PBS/BBC film The Education of Rita (Part 1 of the "Comrades" series), which presents a glimpse at post-secondary education.

LIFESTYLE AND COST OF LIVING

Marriage, Children and the Home

The only legal marriage in the USSR is a civil one. Religious ceremonies can be had, but the civil ceremony must also occur. Marriages (and births) are registered at ZAGS, the local registry office. It is traditional to take bouquets of flowers and place them on any of the numerous historic monuments and war memorials in any Soviet city to commemorate such occasions. After the wedding the newly married couple usually lives with the husband's parents while awaiting an apartment of their own.

Husbands and wives both hold jobs but it is the women who are responsible for maintaining the home and for virtually all cooking and child care. Men help with the shopping, which is no mean feat as one generally must go to a different store for each type of product (bread, vegetables, meat, dairy products). Each family typically has one child (this varies from republic to republic--Central Asians have larger families), despite psychological and small monetary incentives from the government to encourage more than three children. A woman becomes a "Mother Hero" after ten children.

Small families are the result of spatial, financial, and time constraints. The extended families usually live in a two or three room apartment (not 2-3 bedrooms, but 2-3 rooms). Abortion is seen as the only reliable means of birth control. Some women have more than five abortions in their lifetimes and most have had at least one.

The divorce rate is almost as high as in the US. One in three Soviet marriages ends in divorce. The divorce procedure is as simple as the marriage procedure, although this has not always been the case. Child custody is generally awarded to the mother. Due to the housing crunch in Soviet cities, it is not uncommon for couples to continue living together in the same apartment after divorce.

Resource: Carola Hansson, Moscow Women

Food, Clothing and Other Consumer Goods

A predominant feature of Soviet shopping is the line. At each stage in the shopping process one waits in at least two lines--one line to pay for the item and then a second line to pick up the item at the department. There are exceptions to this where an item is selected up from a shelf and then taken to a line to pay. However, measured items such as cheese and meat are almost always paid for before selection. Soviet citizens (and curious foreign tourists) often join in any line that has formed and only later find out what the line is for. Why? Consumer goods are scarce. In the centrally planned economy sofas, refrigerators, and washing machines are not high priority items. The better appliances are often of foreign manufacture and available only to the privileged. Waiting lists are very long for cars (over a year's wait). Clothing is of generally poor quality and very expensive in relation to spendable income. An overcoat or a pair of boots can cost more than one month's salary. Often only one color of any given item is available (for example: orange socks). A family has to budget over a period of years to keep each member clothed and shod--father gets new boots this year; mother a new coat next year--and often must buy an item in advance of need or risk not finding it when it's needed. 1 ruble = 100 kopeks. One ruble in January 1990 officially exchanged for seventeen American cents, or 5-10 cents on the black market. (Except for in the hard currency stores, hotels, and restaurants which cater to foreigners, where the old exchange rate of $1.56 for 1 ruble still exists.) The average monthly salary in the Soviet Union is 200 rubles. A loaf of bread costs 10 kopeks. A kilogram (2.2 lbs.) of simple cookies costs 1 ruble. Fresh fruit (in summer) can cost as much as 5 rubles a kilo, which by weight is not a lot of fruit. Cheap rent may run 20

rubles. A restaurant meal with meat is about 5 rubles. A really fashionable (designer) dress can be as high as 400-800 rubles. A winter coat can cost 200-300 rubles.

Food availability is more closely tied to the growing season than in the US. Soviets get plenty to eat, but the meals are often monotonous because of a lack of variety of foods (fresh, frozen, canned) to choose from. Soviet ideas on nutrition are significantly different from ours as well. For example, the average Soviet citizen believes that large amounts of fat are a necessary part of the daily diet. Due in part to dietary insufficiencies, the lifespan of Soviet men and women is decreasing (the only industrialized society where this is currently happening).

Housing

Soviets pay a significantly smaller percentage of their monthly income for housing than do Americans. There are no extra costs, such as heating--the rent is all inclusive. Soviet housing options include communal apartments, State owned apartments, cooperative apartments, and private free-standing houses, with apartments being the most common option in cities. "Single family dwellings" (often shared by more than one family) are usually found only outside of cities. Private housing construction cannot be contracted, so barter arrangements are made with friends and acquaintances for construction of privately owned homes (or dachas)--or the homeowners do all the work themselves.

The amount of living space per family is much less than in the US, and varies from republic to republic. (The official standard requirement for space allotted per person is 27 square feet. The requirement is not always met.) "Trade boards" are a common sight and provide citizens a place to post notices in hopes of exchanging apartments.

Medicine and Health Care

Doctors do not necessarily have high salaries. Pediatricians and general practitioners are frequently low paid women. The average citizen does not have access to the best medical care available. It is routine to pay a doctor an extra amount beyond the set rate for services. This isn't considered bribery, but a bonus for a job well done. The people see the doctors as underpaid and feel the extra money is worth it. Food for hospitalized patients is usually provided by their own families. Alcoholism is a continuing problem that the Gorbachev administration is making strong efforts to combat.

Work

Every adult Soviet citizen is obligated to work. Work begins either upon completion of compulsory schooling or after completing higher education. Upon graduation from school students are required to serve three years either in the armed services on a specified job assignment. The student is usually given a choice of three possible assignments and permitted to select one. This method is used to ensure a work force in geographic areas that are not popular for migration. After the three year period, there are relatively few restrictions to labor mobility. (Although travel may be restricted to some cities due to housing shortages.) The benefits of a job in a prestigious or particularly important enterprise are great. Enterprises typically have their own stores, providing an improved selection and savings of time for their employees. They also have their own housing facilities which are often of better quality than that which is not associated with an enterprise or ministry.

Stealing from the work place is prevalent in Soviet society, mostly as a result of the extreme shortages of consumer goods, the existence and necessity of the black market, and the alienation of the workers from their government employers. A common anecdote is told which illustrates the problem. Everyday a worker left the factory with a wheelbarrow full

of sawdust to dump before going home. Everyday the suspicious security guard stopped him and poked through the sawdust before letting him go. Finally, the guard said to him, "Ivan Ivanovich, I know that you must be stealing something, but everyday I poke through the sawdust and find nothing. I promise not to arrest you, but I must know what you are stealing." The answer? He was stealing wheelbarrows.

A man works to age 60 and a woman to age 55, although many people elect to continue to work beyond the retirement age at less demanding jobs.

Recreation

The enterprise is often important in the recreation activities of the worker. Factories have sports teams that compete against each other. Semi-professional soccer (the most popular sport in the USSR) and hockey teams attract large numbers of fans to games, which are also broadcast on television. Enterprises also have their own resorts in such places as Sochi, Yalta or the Baltic Coast. Each worker is entitled to a sojourn at the sanitorium (the resort) during the year. The sanatoria supplement the private cottage (dacha) that many Soviet citizens may own. Vacations are not always taken as family units. The possibility for foreign travel, usually to Eastern Europe or Finland, exists. There are also opportunities for travel to Western Europe and the US, but these are quite expensive.

Soviets enjoy spending their leisure time walking in the park or drinking vodka and holding discussions around the kitchen table. Artistic events are numerous and cheap, but tickets are often hard to get.

Aging

The USSR is an aging society. Typical of all industrialized nations the average age of the population is becoming increasingly older. The problem of caring for the elderly devolves onto middle aged women, although frequently the elderly remain at least marginally productive throughout their lives. At present a large army of elderly women take responsibility for much of the country's child care needs and hold positions as coat checkers (coat check rooms are everywhere in the USSR) and museum gallery guards. However, there is a two generation gap resulting from WWII, so successive generations of elderly people will be significantly smaller in number, resulting in a problem in filling positions now occupied by this segment of society, especially in meeting child care needs.

Soviet citizens are eligible for pensions after 25 years of service (20 years for women). Pensions are figured as a percentage of the salary earned in the last regular year of employment. The percentage decreases as salary decreases. The minimum pension is approximately 50 rubles a month.

Exercises: 1. Skit- have several people wait in line for some household item. Show how the line system works (saving places while people go to other lines, etc.) and how some people (such as high placed Party members) can get special privileges. 2. Design pie charts showing percent of monthly income spent on housing, food, clothing, education, utilities, entertainment, etc. for several nations. 3. Report on the function of ZAGS (the State Registry Service), the extended family, divorce, production of consumer goods, Soviet high fashion (who wears these clothes?). 4. Skit- debate between husband and wife over whether to have a third child, discussing financial, spatial, time, and labor constraints. 5. Diagram-plan a Soviet apartment for a family of four. Figure how much space there would be and how it would be used. Draw a layout of where you would put furniture, appliances. Find out what type furniture and appliances would be available for Soviets to buy. 6. Write a brief (two pages) paper on Soviet efforts to combat alcoholism. Why is it a problem, how is the government trying to reduce it, are government programs working? 7. Write a brief

(two pages) paper on your options for running your own enterprise in Siberia, being a minor assistant in Moscow, and in being promoted to a senior assistant in your hometown (where you now live) in a rural area of the Ukraine. Describe the advantages and disadvantages of each position based on associated privileges, housing, cultural, and consumer products available, weather, etc. Based on these factors, make a career choice. 8. Skit- an American high school student comparing after school activities with a Soviet high school student. 9. Graph- Make a balance sheet of income and expenses for a Soviet couple eligible for retirement. Decide whether the couple can afford to retire yet. Assume that the man's current income is 200 rubles per month and the woman's is 150 rubles. They will receive 40% of their income as a pension. Rent is 40 rubles. Plan a budget.

The Indiana University Russian & East European Institute has available for free loan a 60 minute 1/2" VHS videotape titled "Video from Russia--Pictures of Russia." The film features a blend of history, culture, religion and the arts in an effort to convey the character of the Russian people. Interviews touch upon the fears of war and invasion, community spirit and the need of rituals. Produced by Danmarks Radio, 1988.

The following price comparisons were informally compiled by American participants in the "Info USA" exhibit which toured the Soviet Union in 1987. The exhibit featured common American communication items such as photo-duplicating machines, personal computers, grocery price scanning devices and family cars. Sponsored by the United States Information Agency, exhibit guides responded to many questions from Soviets such as "How long does it take an average American worker to earn enough to buy a Plymouth Voyager?" Indiana University doctoral student Brigit Farley worked at the exhibit nine months and provided us with the following tables.

PRICE COMPARISON OF AMERICAN AND SOVIET EVERYDAY ITEMS

Everyday Items	Soviet (rubles)	197 r. % Avg. Income	80 r. % Min. Income	American (dollars)	-- After Taxes-- $1200 % Avg. Income	$584 % Min. Income
Metro	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.80	0.07	0.14
Rent	15.00	7.61	18.75	300.00	25.00	51.37
Dry Cleaning	0.19	0.10	0.24	1.50	0.13	0.26
Ice Cream	0.20	0.10	0.25	1.00	0.08	0.17
Man's Suit	150.00	76.14	187.50	400.00	33.33	68.49
Woman's Dress	120.00	60.91	150.00	200.00	16.67	34.25
Gas per litre	0.40	0.20	0.50	0.25	0.02	0.04
Typical car	7500.00	3807.11	9375.00	8000.00	666.67	1369.86
Good car	15000.00	7614.21	18750.00	30000.00	2500.00	5136.99
Movie ticket	0.50	0.25	0.63	5.00	0.42	0.86
Theatre	2.50	1.27	3.13	30.00	2.50	5.14
Books	3.00	1.52	3.75	12.00	1.00	2.05
Record Album	2.50	1.27	3.13	11.00	0.92	1.88
Cassette/radio	200.00	101.52	250.00	200.00	16.67	34.25
TOTAL	22794.34	11570.73	28492.93	38961.55	3246.80	6671.50

PRICE COMPARISON OF US AND SOVIET FOOD BY AFTER-RENT-AND-TAXES MONTHLY INCOME

Food Type	Per Kilo or Liter Soviet (rubles)	% Avg. Income	American (dollars)	% Avg. Income	
Milk	0.30	0.16	0.60	0.06	
Cheese	3.00	1.65	4.40	0.45	
Flour	0.46	0.25	0.88	0.09	
Apple Juice	0.60	0.33	1.00	0.10	
Jam	1.00	0.55	4.00	0.41	
Macaroni	0.40	0.22	2.20	0.23	
Sausage	2.50	1.37	10.00	1.03	
Eggs	0.90	0.49	0.79	0.08	per 10 eggs
Wine	3.00	1.65	7.00	0.72	
Pepsi	0.45	0.25	0.50	0.05	
Bread	0.20	0.11	1.00	0.10	
Sugar	1.00	0.55	1.30	0.13	
Meat	2.00	1.10	5.00	0.51	
Chicken	2.00	1.10	3.00	0.31	
Tomatoes	1.00	0.55	1.20	0.12	
Oranges	2.00	1.10	1.00	0.10	in season
Bananas	2.00	1.10	0.50	0.05	in season

GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNIST PARTY

The Soviet political system is also in a state of flux. The powers of the Presidential Council and other newly created institutions are not yet known; old institutions are being given new authority; and the Party Congress scheduled for June 1990 will probably make wholesale changes in the government and party structures. The relationship between party and government continues to evolve.

Although the repeal of Article Six of the Soviet Constitution, which gives the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) exclusive control over all aspects of Soviet society, is imminent, the CPSU still dominates the political system. The repeal of Article Six will give other political parties the right to participate in elections and the government. Currently, People's Front organizations have been allowed to field candidates for elections to the Congress of People's Deputies and local governments and participate in the work of these bodies.

The Communist Party is not the formal governing organ of the USSR. The party is dominant over the government, and makes all policy decisions. Implementation of party decisions is the function of the government structure. The party and the government thus have a roughly parallel structure.

The Communist Party operates on the principle of democratic centralism. In theory, all party organs are elected from below and policy is freely discussed at each level of the party, with decisions made democratically. However, according to Article 19 of the Party Statute, "strict party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority is mandatory and the decisions of higher organs are absolutely binding on lower ones." Therefore, in actual practice, the highest party organs, beginning with the General Secretary, have authoritarian control over the lower ones. Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev is both the General Secretary of the Communist Party and the President of the Soviet government. The Politburo is the highest party organ and currently has 11 full voting and 7 candidate (nonvoting) members. Its regular meetings are every Thursday morning. The Central Committee, with about 250 voting and 100 nonvoting members, is the next highest body and meets at least twice a year. The Party Congress, with approximately 5,000 members, meets at least once every five years.

The highest governmental position is that of the Executive President. The Council of Ministers is led by its Chairman, also known as the Premier or Prime Minister, currently Nikolai Ivanovich Ryzhkov, and is composed of approximately 90 deputy ministers and the chairmen of the state committees. The Supreme Soviet is the standing legislature, currently has 542 members, and meets twice a year. The Congress of People's Deputies, which has 2,250 members, meets at least once a year.

Party members make up only 6-10% of the total population. The numbers are deliberately small; party membership is selective and considered a privilege. It is true that membership in the party involves a significant time commitment, but there are advantages. Job promotion often accompanies membership. Members can gain better position on waiting lists for cars, new housing and other scarce commodities. Virtually all posts of political responsibility are held by Party members.

People in responsible positions have the best chance at gaining membership. However, workers and collective farmers do make up a certain part of the cadre. Recent changes in

party rules allow Komsomol members to become members of the party in their late teens. The usual age to join is around 26. Men outnumber women, and ethnic Russians make up much more than half the total membership. (The Politburo is also made up mostly of Russians.) The business of the All-Union Party Congress is conducted in Russian. The most powerful members of the party are those who hold jobs within the party itself rather than outside.

Exercises: 1. Graph- Make a flow chart of government in the Soviet Union. Make another chart for the Communist Party. 2. Discuss topics which are covered at Party meetings. Plan your own meeting and play the parts of leaders and regular members. (Example- Komsomol meeting to discuss issues such as school cleanliness, behavior of students, grades of members and others, etc.).

CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMY

The 1, 5, 10, 15, and 20 Year Plans set specific goals which affect every Soviet citizen. The plans determine what to produce, how much to make, and where it goes. Undeniably, this is a cumbersome process which does not respond quickly to demand. Communication in advance of the announcement of each plan is vital, but isn't always efficient. It is a difficult process to connect all the factors affecting each product. For example, to manufacture appliances, a prediction must be made as to the number needed and when and where they will be needed. The style and color must be determined as well as how to deliver the product. The number of each part required for assembly of the appliance must be determined and manufacturing plants for each of the parts must be selected. In turn, the quantity of raw materials needed by each parts manufacturer, along with delivery times for the materials, must be determined. The next problem is determining where the raw materials will come from, how they will be transported and when, and ultimately how to get all the parts to the appliance assembly plant. All of this must be worked up so that all the different participants can coordinate all the other demands made on them by other companies, and can develop a regular job schedule for their workers.

Incentives are based on fulfillment of the plan, rather than user satisfaction. When the incentives for fulfilling the plan for glass production were based on the weight of the glass, windows were made thicker than Coca-Cola bottles. When the incentives were based on square footage, windows were paper thin. The planning system breaks down as a result of lack of information, hording, and resource allocation bottlenecks.

The Soviet Union was transformed from a primarily agricultural economy to an advanced industrial country because of the Stalinist development model. The central plan emphasized investment in heavy industry (steel, cement, machine-tools) at the expense of producing consumer goods. The strategy was to develop these industries first, so that consumer goods would be produced from the infrastructure that was developed. However, for the most part, heavy industry produced goods in order to develop more heavy industry; i.e., steel factories made steel which was used to make the factories and machines which would make more steel factories, not automobiles and refrigerators. The USSR experienced tremendous economic growth until the 1960s as a result of this policy, which was achieved because of the extensive growth which was utilized. Extensive growth means that growth occurs through the use of more inputs into production, rather than higher productivity. The Soviet achieved growth through the use of more natural resources and greater participation of labor. The brutal collectivization of agriculture resulted in a large urban migration and redistribution of the work force into industry. Women were also included in the work force.

The pricing system is also responsible for the shortage of consumer goods. Prices are centrally planned and bear little relation to the scarcity and demand for the good. Low prices are set for food and other basic necessities, while high prices are set for those items considered to be luxury items. As a result, long lines for scarce goods are common. An illegal black market develops because of excess demand. High hidden inflation occurs as a result of the huge monetary overhang in the economy. (The workers are paid money for which there is nothing to buy).

Although many reforms have been made to decentralize the economic mechanisms to the enterprise level, the central plans and the pricing system continue to be decided by the authorities in Moscow and significant reform can not be accomplished until the central planners give up their control over these key areas.

Even such things as the focus of faculty and student research in institutions of higher education must be planned to some extent to ensure that funding and facilities will be available.

Exercises: 1. You are a central planner in Moscow responsible for output of one million sugar cookies per year. Make a list of ingredients you will need (estimate amounts). Decide how many cookies will be produced per month at each of five bakeries. Assign deliveries to the Moscow egg factory, the Zagorsk flour mill, and so on. Determine the amounts of ingredients to be delivered each month to each bakery. a. Skit- A director of a bakery has not received his flour delivery for the month. Have him or her talk to the flour mill director about speeding up deliveries. Use bribes, threats, etc., maybe the black market. The director should explain to the central planners why he can't produce that month's quota of cookies.

The Indiana University Russian & East European Institute has available for free loan a 15 minute 1/2" VHS videotape on the Soviet Union titled GLOBAL GEOGRAPHY: "Why Does Planning Occur?" The tape was produced by the Indiana Department of Education, 1988.

RELIGION

The Soviet government nationalized the Russian Orthodox Church after coming to power in 1917. As the government hardened its stance against elements of tsarist society and those which they believed hindered the development of a more progressive society, the church was forced to go underground. Later, during WWII, in a general return to ideas of Russian nationalism, Stalin called on the church to help support the Soviet government, and as a result the Orthodox Church was somewhat strengthened. Khrushchev renewed the antireligious campaign from 1958-1964. More than half of the churches that remained from earlier persecutions were closed, the number of seminaries was reduced from eight to three, and the number of monasteries was reduced from 69 to 10-15. Since the time of the revolution, thousands of churches in Moscow alone were destroyed and today only about 400 exist.

Although the official government policy (as guaranteed in the Constitution) on religion is one of neutrality and separation from state affairs, the official stand of the Communist Party is to promote atheism. Before Gorbachev came to power, it was difficult to be open about religion in most parts of the country. The churches, temples, and mosques which are open are often not repaired and are frequently difficult to reach. Many structures were turned into museums, making them unavailable for religious use. This is changing, the government now tolerates religion to a greater extent than it ever did before, and churches are being converted back from museums into working churches. There is no longer a reason to fear being openly religious, but most of those who attend services in the Soviet Union continue to be women, and most are older.

Religion is also an element of the national identity of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Russian Orthodox Church is by far the most prevalent religion in the USSR, while "Old Believers," who separated from the patriarchical Russian Orthodox Church in the mid-17th century and adhere to the practices of the Church before the reforms of Patriarch Nikon. Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, and Romanian (Moldavian) Orthodox Churches are the major religions in these republics. There is also a strong underground Uniate movement in the USSR. These Eastern Rite Catholics were forcibly incorporated into the Orthodox Churches to prevent them from becoming focal points for anti-Soviet nationalism, particularly in the Ukraine. Other Christian religions active in the Soviet Union include Roman Catholics, mostly in Lithuania; Lutherans, primarily in Estonia and Latvia; and the Armenian Apostolic Church. There is a significant amount of Evangelical Christians and Baptists throughout the Soviet Union.

Jews in the Soviet Union are a recognized nationality. Anti-Semitism is widespread in the Soviet Union. Jews are given less access to higher education and career promotions than other groups. There are restrictions on Hebrew publications and on the production and distribution of Kosher food. Emigration previously was extremely difficult, and many "refusniks" (applicants for exit visas and their families) were persecuted.

There are 25-40 million Muslims in the USSR, of which approximately 90% are Sunnites, the rest Shiites. They live primarily in Central Asia, where they are allowed to maintain their faith and culture. The Muslims have the highest population growth rates in the Soviet Union, so their number is increasing.

Exercises: 1. Simulate conversation between a grandmother, her daughter, and her granddaughter. The grandmother and granddaughter feel openly practicing their religion is risky due to Party considerations. 2. Short paper- Describe the relationship between the church leadership and the government leadership. 3. Short paper- Describe the Russian Orthodox Church: what is a service like, what is the difference between Russian Orthodoxy,

Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism? 4. Map- Draw a map showing what religions are practiced in different areas. Draw another describing where religion is a prominent part of people's lives.

The Indiana University Russian & East European Institute has available for free loan a carousel slide program titled "Russian Icons: A Cultural Heritage." The IU Audio Visual Center has available for rental the PBS/BBC film The Master of Samarkand (Part 10 in the "Comrades" series), which examines daily life in a Muslim community.

CHRONOLOGY OF RUSSIAN AND SOVIET HISTORY

862		Riurik arrives in Novgorod
End of 9th-mid 12th centuries		Kievan Rus' period.
988		Prince Vladimir of Kiev converts populace to Christianity.
1237-1240		Mongol invasion.
14th-16th centuries		Development of Moscow as dominant power center.
c. 1330		Metropolitanate transferred to Moscow.
1448		Moscow Metropolitanate breaks with Patriarchate of Constantinople.
1480		End of Mongol rule.
1502		Golden Horde destroyed.
1547	January	Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan IV (the Terrible) crowned first Tsar of All the Russias
1589		Patriarchate of Moscow established.
1598-1613		"The Time of Troubles." A time of great upheaval and struggles for power after Ivan IV's son, Tsar Fedor, dies without an heir. Competing boyar families vie for the throne, as well as many who pretend to be heirs to the Riurik dynasty. The Tatars, Sweden, and Poland each capitalized on Russia's weakness, with Sweden occupying Novgorod and Poland taking over Moscow. From 1611-12, a liberation movement was led by Minin and Pozharsky.
1613		Election of Mikhail Romanov as Tsar. Romanov dynasty lasts until February 1917.
1652-1666		Reforms of the Russian Orthodox Church by Patriarch Nikon.
1654		Russia incorporates the Ukraine.
1696-1725		Reign of Tsar Peter I (the Great). He reforms Russian government and society along Western lines. He was almost constantly at war with Sweden, Poland, Persia, or the Ottoman Empire, and extended the Russian empire to the Baltic Sea in the North and along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. In 1703 he moves the capital to St. Petersburg on the Baltic, creating a city in the Western style. In 1721, he assumed the title of Tsar.
1762-1796		Reign of Empress Catherine II (the Great). She continued the Western reforms of Peter I, as well as territorial acquisition through war.
1772		First partition of Poland.
1774	July	Peace of Kuchuk-Kainardzhi with Ottoman Empire allows Russia to protect the rights of the Orthodox in the Balkans.
1780		Armed Neutrality, directed against Britain, declared.
1793	January	Second partition of Poland.
1795-97		Third partition eliminates Poland's existence as an independent nation.

1799		Russian American Company established to control Russian colonies in Alaska and California.
1801-1825		Reign of Tsar Alexander I.
1805-1807		Russia in the Third Coalition against Napoleon.
1807-1812		Franco-Russian Alliance.
1812		Napoleon's Russian campaign. On 24 June 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia, reaching Moscow by September 14. The length of his supply route, a fire which destroyed three-quarters of the city, and uncertainty about events in Western Europe forced him to retreat on 19 October 1812. The winter and Russian partisans took a tremendous toll on the Grand Army and Tsar Alexander continued the attack in order to unify Poland under his rule and to free Europe from the ungodly domination of the French. On 31 March 1814, accompanied by Frederick Wilhelm of Prussia, entered Paris.
1815	June	Treaty of Vienna
1825	December	Decembrist uprising
1825-1855		Reign of Tsar Nicholas I
1830s-1850s		Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Leo Tolstoy publish novels.
1849		Russia intervenes to put down Hungarian revolution.
1854-1856		Crimean War with Britain and France. Treaty of Paris in 1856 demilitarizes the Black Sea, Russia loses a portion of Bessarabia.
1855-1881		Reign of Tsar Alexander II
1861		Emancipation of the serfs
1867		Sale of Alaska to United States
1878	March	Treaty of San Stefano
1878	June-July	Congress of Berlin abrogates Treaty of San Stefano.
1881	March 14	Tsar Alexander II assassinated.
1881-1894		Reign of Tsar Alexander III
1891-1905		Trans-Siberian Railway built.
1894-1917		Reign of Tsar Nicholas II
1883		The first Russian Marxist Group, "Emancipation of Labor," is founded in Geneva, Switzerland, with G. V. Plekhanov as its leader.
1898		The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, a Marxist organization, is founded in Minsk; it is soon broken up by the Tsarist secret police and forced to meet in European exile.
1903		At a Russian Social Democratic Labor Party congress in London, the party breaks into two factions; the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, select a name for their wing derived from the word for "more," although this majority is achieved only by a walkout of the more numerous Mensheviks, a name derived from the word for "less."

1904-1905		Russia suffers a humiliating defeat in the Russo-Japanese War. A revolution occurs, but is quickly and brutally suppressed, including the "Bloody Sunday" massacre in St. Petersburg. Tsar Nicholas II is forced to accept the creation of the Duma and the establishment of a "Constitutional Monarchy." However, the Duma wields very ineffective power.
1914	August	World War I begins, devastating losses for Russia ensue.
1917	March	The February Revolution (Russia used the Julian calendar at the time) breaks out in a wave of strikes and unrest resulting from the sacrifices demanded for the war. Tsar Nicholas II abdicates and the provisional government is established. It is led Prince George E. Lvov. Russia continues its commitment to its allies to remain in the war.
	April	Lenin returns from exile in Switzerland with the assistance of Germany and delivers "April Theses."
	July	Prince Lvov is replaced by Alexander Kerensky.
	November 7-8	Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviet government publishes the secret treaties of the World War I allies.
	December 19	Finland declares independence.
1918	January 22	Ukraine declares independence.
	March 3	Peace of Brest-Litovsk. Russia leaves the war, losing its Polish, Ukrainian, and Baltic territories, the Caucasian territories of Kars, Batum, and Ardakhan, and most of Byelorussia.
	March 10-11	Seat of the Soviet government was moved from Petrograd (Leningrad) to Moscow.
1918-1922		Civil War, Trotsky's Red Army defeats anti-Bolshevik Whites, led by Admiral Kolchak.
1918-1919		American, French, British, and Japanese forces intervene in Civil War.
1920	February	Independence of Estonia recognized.
1920-1921		War with Poland.
1920	July	Independence of Lithuania recognized.
	August	Independence of Latvia recognized.
	December	De facto incorporation of Ukraine
1921	February	De facto incorporation of Byelorussia (White Russia)
	March	Kronstadt uprising against Soviets by sailors at naval base near Leningrad.
	March 21	The New Economic Policy was introduced.
1922	December 28	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics established.
	January 21	Death of Lenin.
1924-26		Power struggle primarily between Trotsky and Stalin. Trotsky and his faction are expelled from the party in 1927 and he is sent to exile in Alma-Ata. Trotsky is expelled from the USSR in 1929 and assassinated by Stalin's secret police in 1940 in Mexico City.

1928-33		First 5-Year-Plan. Declared a success by 1932 (the fourth year).
1929-33		Collectivization drive, resulting in massive famine.
1933	November 16	United States and Soviet Union establish diplomatic relations.
1934	September 18	USSR admitted to League of Nations.
	December	Assassination of Kirov, local Party leader in Leningrad.
1933-39		One million party members are expelled, Stalin's political rivals sentenced by "Show Trials," 30 million people die and millions sent to forced labor camps.
1939	August 23	Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. Secret protocols provide for the division of Poland, the annexation of the 3 Baltic nations into the USSR, and for Bessarabia to be taken from Romania and annexed by USSR (Northern Bukovina was taken as well).
1939-40		"Winter War" against Finland.
1941	June 22	Germany attacks USSR.
1941-45		"The Great Patriotic War." 27 million Soviet citizens die as result of World War II.
1941-44		Blockade of Leningrad. Deportations of non-Russian nationalities away from the western front.
1945	February 7-12	Yalta agreement on the liberation of Europe signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Josef Stalin, and Winston Churchill.
1947-49		Imposition of Communist governments in all East European nations except Greece.
1947	September	Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) established.
1949	January	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance established.
	September 23	First Soviet atomic bomb explosion.
1953	March 5	Stalin's death.
1953-58		Power struggle among Premier Georgi M. Malenkov, Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov, Defense Minister Nicholas Bulganin, NKVD Chief Lavrenty Beria, and CPSU First Secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev. Beria is executed in December 1953. Khrushchev purges all other rivals by 1958.
1956	February	Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" at the 20th Party Congress. The beginning of "De-Stalinization."
	November	Rebellion in Hungary put down by Soviet troops.
1957	October	Sputnik launched.
1959	September	Eisenhower and Khrushchev meet at Camp David.
1960	May	Eisenhower and Khrushchev meet in Paris. The U-2 incident brings a premature end to the meeting.
1961	June 3-4	Kennedy and Khrushchev meet in Vienna.

	April	Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man in space.
1962	October	Cuban Missile Crisis.
1963	June 16	Valentina Tereshkova becomes the first woman in space.
1964	October 15	Khrushchev removed from power. Leonid I. Brezhnev becomes CPSU First Secretary and Alexei Kosygin becomes Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Premier).
1968	August 20	Soviet tanks enter Prague, Czechoslovakia.
1973		Brezhnev visits U.S.
1974		Nixon visits U.S.S.R.
1975		Ford and Brezhnev meet and sign the Helsinki Accords.
1977		Brezhnev becomes President, in addition to General Secretary. First time leadership of both party and state held by the same person.
1979		Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
1982		Death of Brezhnev. Yuri V. Andropov becomes General Secretary.
1984		Death of Andropov. Konstantin U. Chernenko becomes General Secretary.
1985	March	Death of Chernenko. Mikhail S. Gorbachev becomes General Secretary.
1985	July	Gorbachev removes Andrei Gromyko as Foreign Minister, naming him as the largely ceremonial Soviet President; he is replaced by Eduard A. Shevardnadze, a Gorbachev protege.
		Reagan-Gorbachev Summit meeting in Geneva.
1986		Chernobyl nuclear disaster.
		Reagan-Gorbachev "mini-summit" in Reykjavyk, Iceland.
1987		Release of large numbers of political prisoners.
1987	October	Boris Yeltsin, former protege of Gorbachev, strongly criticizes Yegor Ligachev, the second-ranking member of the Politburo; he is forced to resign as Moscow party chief and is removed from the Politburo.
	December	Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in Washington, D.C. Signing of Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty.
1988		Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in Moscow. Gorbachev becomes Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Shake up in Politburo. Anatoly Dobrynin, former Ambassador to the US and Central Committee Secretary in charge of foreign relations, Mikhail Solomenstev, Chairman of the Party Control Committee, and President Andrei Gromyko are retired from the Politburo. Also Yegor Ligachev, #2 man in the Politburo is stripped of his ideological post and seemingly demoted to a Central Committee agricultural post.
1988	December	Gorbachev speaks to General Assembly, United Nations and meets with Reagan and President-elect Bush. Earthquake in Armenia.
1989		Soviet troops withdrawn from Afghanistan.

1989	March	First freely-contested elections since 1917 held in order to elect deputies to the new Parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies. Boris Yeltsin and hundreds of other Popular Front candidates, opposed to the Communist Party, are elected.
1989	December	The Lithuanian Communist Party declares its separation from the central control of the CPSU.
1990	January	Red Army intervenes in Baku to end violence against Armenians and martial law is declared
	March 11	Lithuania declares independence from the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union

USSR 26

The Soviet Union is:

- the largest country in the world
- the third most populous country (after China and India)
- the leading producer of petroleum, iron ore, coal, and wood

Government

Type: Communist state
Head of state: President Andrei Gromyko
Head of Communist Party: General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev
Economic growth rate: 2%-3%
Administration: 15 union republics and 38 autonomous areas
Armed Forces: 5 million (in 1984)
Military spending: 12%-14% of central government spending

Population

Annual growth rate: 0.9%
Ethnic makeup: 52% Russian, 16% Ukrainian, 5% Uzbek, and nearly 100 other ethnic groups
Adult literacy rate: 99.8%
Religion: 18% Russian Orthodox, 9% Muslim, 3% other, 70% atheist

	USSR	US
Population	270 million	230 million
Area	8.6 million sq. miles	3.6 million sq. miles
% of arable land	11%	78%
Latitude	35°N - 80°N	20°N - 65°N (includes Alaska and Hawaii)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Cyrillic Alphabet

Russian uses the Cyrillic alphabet (English uses the Latin alphabet). The Cyrillic alphabet, based on Greek script, was created in the ninth century AD in the area of Macedonia. It was named after the ninth century Byzantine missionary Constantine-Cyril, although he actually devised the Glagolitic alphabet based on Greek cursive script by which the Gospels could be transcribed into Slavonic.

Use this modified list to write your name.

Cyrillic letters	Latin transcription	and pronunciation
		CONSONANTS:
Б б	b	as in bat
Ч ч	ch	as in cheese
Д д	d	as in dog
Ф ф	f	as in fan
Г г	g	as in got
ДЖ	j	as in jam (a combination of Cyrillic consonants is required)
К к	k	as in sky (In Russian, k, p and t are pronounced without the puff of air Americans often use)
Х х	kh	like the ch in German Bach or Scottish loch
Л л	l	as in long
М м	m	as in man
Н н	n	as in not
П п	p	as in span
Р р	r	as in ran, but rolled with tip of tongue
С с	s	as in sun
Ш ш	sh	as in shall
Щ щ	shh	is drawn out like the sh sound in fresh sheets
Т т	t	as in stay
Ц ц	ts	as in mats
В в	v	as in van
Й й	y	as in yes
Ж ж	zh	as in azure
З з	z	as in zoo
		VOWELS:
А а	a	pronounced ah as in calm or uh as in fun
Э э	eh	as in net
- ы	ï	No English equivalent. Something like the i in bit but with the tongue further back.
О о	oh	as in more or awl; not like o as in so. At the beginning of a word it is pronounced ah as in calm and sometimes it sounds like uh as in fun
У у	oo	as in loon, but short
Я я	(y)ah	as in yacht; or (y)ih as in yip
Е е	(y)eh	as in yes; or (y)ih as in yip
И и	(y)ee	as in yeast
Ё ё	(y)oh	as in yore, but short like yawl
Ю ю	(y)oo	as in yule

To write your name in Cyrillic letters, sound it out carefully and write down the corresponding Cyrillic letter for each sound.

Examples: Karen = K eh r eh n = КЭрЭн
Fred = F r eh d = ФрЭд
George = J oh r j = ДЖорДж

USSR Word Search Game

The following words are hidden in this puzzle. They may appear horizontally, vertically, diagonally, and/or backwards.

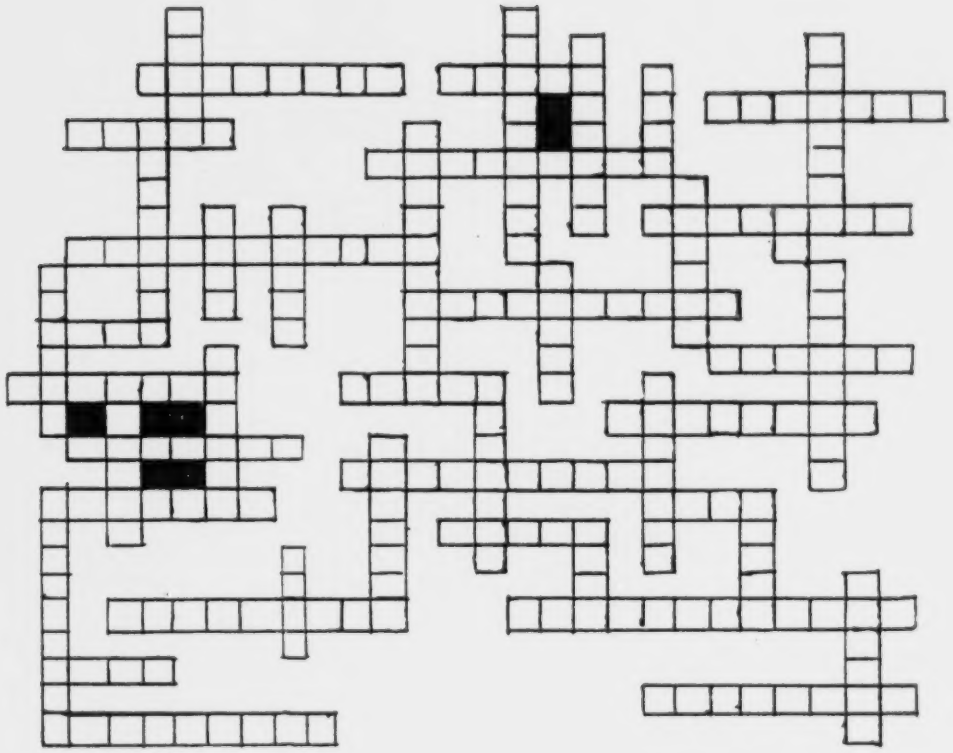
ANDROPOV
BREZHNEV
CCCP
CHERNOBYL
COMMUNISM
COMRADES
COSSACKS
GLASNOST
GORBACHEV
KIEV
KRUSHCHEV
LENIN
PERESTROIKA
(YOUNG) PIONEERS
RED SQUARE
SIBERIA
SPUTNIK
STALIN
TAIGA
TARTARS
TASS
TROIKA
TUNDRA
VODKA
WHITE NIGHTS
YALTA

Y	A	L	T	A	B	S	T	A	L	I	N	E	L	X
R	A	R	D	N	U	T	T	C	Y	I	V	E	K	V
E	A	N	P	I	V	K	O	L	B	A	N	U	H	R
D	K	A	D	E	O	S	H	K	O	I	S	O	R	C
S	I	V	I	R	S	R	V	O	N	E	P	T	U	O
Q	O	K	I	A	O	E	T	E	R	V	U	S	S	M
U	R	R	C	R	N	P	O	C	E	O	T	R	H	M
A	T	K	H	H	E	O	O	H	H	D	N	E	C	U
R	S	C	Z	O	S	L	C	V	C	K	I	E	H	N
E	E	E	A	G	I	A	T	O	O	A	K	N	E	I
X	R	N	L	E	B	P	U	A	M	O	C	O	V	S
B	E	A	S	R	E	I	N	Y	R	R	S	I	I	M
C	P	L	O	E	R	O	D	R	Z	T	A	P	G	T
C	E	G	L	D	I	M	R	F	O	O	A	D	N	A
C	R	H	G	L	A	S	N	O	S	T	I	R	E	S
P	E	W	H	I	T	E	N	I	G	H	T	S	S	S

Indiana University
Russian & East European Institute

USSR Geography Puzzle

Fit the words into the grid.



2 letters
OB (River)

4 letters
AMUR (River)
BAKU
KIEV
LENA (River)
RIGA
TULA
URAL (Mts.)

5 letters
ALTAI (Mts.)
DVINA
GORKY
MINSK
NEMAN (River)
RSFSR
VOLGA (River)
YALTA

6 letters
BALTIC (Sea)
CRIMEA
LATVIA
MOSCOW
ODESSA
TBLISI

7 letters
BARENTS (Sea)
CASPIAN (Sea)
DNIEPER (River)
ESTONIA
GEORGIA
KHARKOV
SARATOV
YEREVAN
YENISEY (River)

8 letters
CHERSKIY (Range)
KIRGIZIA
MURMANSK
MOLDAVIA
NOVGOROD
TASHKENT

9 letters
CHERNOBYL
KARAGANDA
LENINGRAD
LITHUANIA
VOLGOGRAD

10 letters
BELORUSSIA
KAZAKHSTAN
SEVASTOPOL

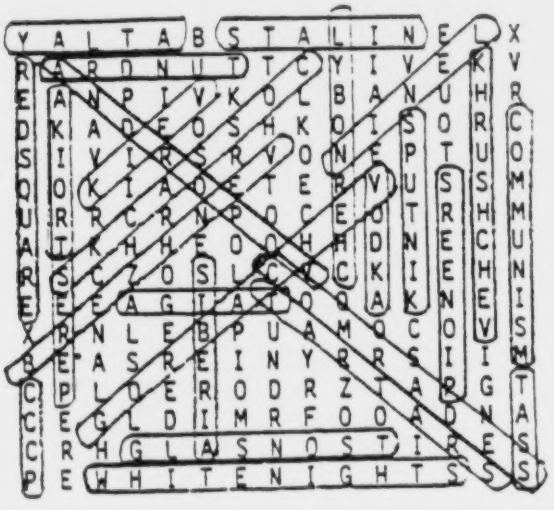
11 letters
VLADIVOSTOK

12 letters
TURKMENISTAN

Key to game and puzzle

WORD SEARCH

SOLUTION



GEOGRAPHY PUZZLE

SOLUTION

EASTERN EUROPE

EASTERN EUROPE

What is Eastern Europe?
1) Map of Europe prior to 1917
2) Map of present day Eastern Europe

When examining Eastern Europe it is best to put current politics aside and look at Eastern Europe in a historical perspective. Eastern Europe is a very recent grouping of countries with varied historical pasts and traditions. There is no logical reason to title these countries as a single entity except that they represent the geographic area which came under Soviet control as the Red Army marched beyond its borders to defeat Hitler.

Eastern Europe cuts across the old frontiers of the Roman Empire (Roman road built to Black Sea, See Hugh Seton-Watson) and the more recent division between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. The East European states were not nation states until the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Bulgaria (1908), Romania (1878), Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia (1918), and Albania (1912). East Germany was carved out of modern Germany at the end of World War II. It is a highly diverse area geographically, ranging from East Germany and Poland which border the Baltic Sea to Romania and Bulgaria on the Black Sea to Yugoslavia and Albania which are on the crystal blue Adriatic.

"Eastern Europe" as we know it is a twentieth century term. A portion of the USSR actually covers the easternmost part of the European continent. Prior to 1945, the geographic area we now call Eastern Europe was referred to as East Central Europe and Southeastern Europe which included Greece. The Eastern Europe of today is composed of lands of two former empires, the Ottoman, and Habsburg. It is important to note that the traditions and histories of this region are drawn predominately from the West; the eastern influence is not from the Russians but from the Ottomans.

After World War I, the East European states gained independence with newly drawn borders and appeared to have parliamentary and democratic forms of government. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, all the states had become authoritarian systems by the end of the twenty-year interwar period. At the conclusion of WWII, the East European states lacked the stable and well-formed systems of government exhibited by their West European counterparts. This left a vacuum of power which enabled the communists to consolidate their power quickly. Contributing to this change was the acknowledgment by the United States and Great Britain of the Soviet Union's special interest in East European states as a buffer zone protecting the Soviet Union from historical invasion routes from the West, a nucleus for a bloc of allied states, as compensation for personnel losses of the Red Army in conquering the area, and as, at least for a short time, a zone exploited economically to reconstruct the Soviet Union. During WWII the Soviets established contact with local communists in those states and helped them to expand their influence in national politics. The communist ascendancy in East Europe was complete by 1948. By the end of the 1940's, communist controlled governments had promulgated new constitutions establishing a Soviet-style government called "people's democracy."

Exercises: 1) Have students get together in teams and make a map of an East European country. Include terrain, major cities, rivers, forests, major roads, RR, ports, languages of certain areas (i.e. In Yugoslavia, they speak three languages); 2) Make a list of famous people from each of the countries. For example: Poland--Mikołaj Kopernick (Copernicus), 1473-1543, established the theory that the Earth orbits the sun; Tadeusz Kościuszko, 1746-1817, fought in the American Revolution; Fryderyk Chopin, 1810-1849, composer;

Józef Korzeniowski (Conrad), 1857-1924, wrote Lord Jim and other novels; Maria Skłodowska-Curie, 1867-1934, received Nobel prizes in 1903 and 1911 for radium research.

Since 1948, Yugoslavia has not been a part of the Soviet Bloc. Prior to this time Yugoslav Communist leader Joseph Broz Tito was able to keep Soviet influence to a minimum. The Red Army had helped to liberate Belgrade but Red Army troops did not remain in the country. The geographical distance between Belgrade and Moscow prevented Soviet military intervention when Tito began to take an independent stance in domestic and foreign policy. The Yugoslavs made overtures to Bulgaria for a south slav economic union, supplied money and arms to the Greek communists, and established a communist government more quickly than Stalin dictated. In 1948, Yugoslavia broke with the Soviet Union. Since then Yugoslavia has followed an independent foreign and domestic policy.

After the death of Stalin, external circumstances prompted the East European states to reexamine their governmental systems and make modifications to Soviet inspired policies. Contributing to the decision to change were:

1) The reconciliation between Moscow and Belgrade. Khrushchev wanted to bring Tito's Yugoslavia back under the communist wing. The rapproachment between the two communist states signaled to the other states that divergence within the Soviet model was possible.

2) Khrushchev's speech to the Twentieth Party Congress. The General Secetary spoke of the legitimacy of "separate roads to socialism," implying his countries willingness to tolerate some independence in policymaking by the other communist parties.

These changes had grave repercussions in both Poland and Hungary in 1956.

Research Project: Have students research the events of 1956 through old newspapers and periodicals (Time, Life, Newsweek).

After 1956, East European states still moved away from the Soviet-Stalinist model. The extent of the divergence varies significantly between states. Some countries are different from the Soviet economic model: Yugoslavia and its worker self management, Hungary and the New Economic Mechanism in the 1960's, and East Germany in the 1970's. Other countries attempted substantial divergence in the political sphere: Poland and Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1980-81. These attempts were less successful, largely because of Soviet opposition. Some countries, notably Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania, have diverged minimally or not at all in the economic and political areas since the 1950's.

The Soviets have put limits on the scope of divergence. They seem to insist that all of the East European countries remain faithful to three principles of socialist development:

1) a monolithic dictatorship by the Communist party and the party's practice of democratic centralism.
2) Socialist control over the means of production.
3) The preservation of close ties to the Socialist community and the Soviet Union through membership in the Warsaw Pact and CMEA.

Despite a show of autonomy, most of the East European countries remained closely linked to the Soviet Union through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact which is a military alliance.

In 1985, the Warsaw Pact members raised the issues of national sovereignty and non-interference. The East European governments wanted to renew the pact for a short period but the Soviets pressed and won a twenty year alliance. However, the East European governments did manage to communicate to the Kremlin their sensitivity to Soviet intrusiveness and their concern with autonomy in domestic and foreign policy making.

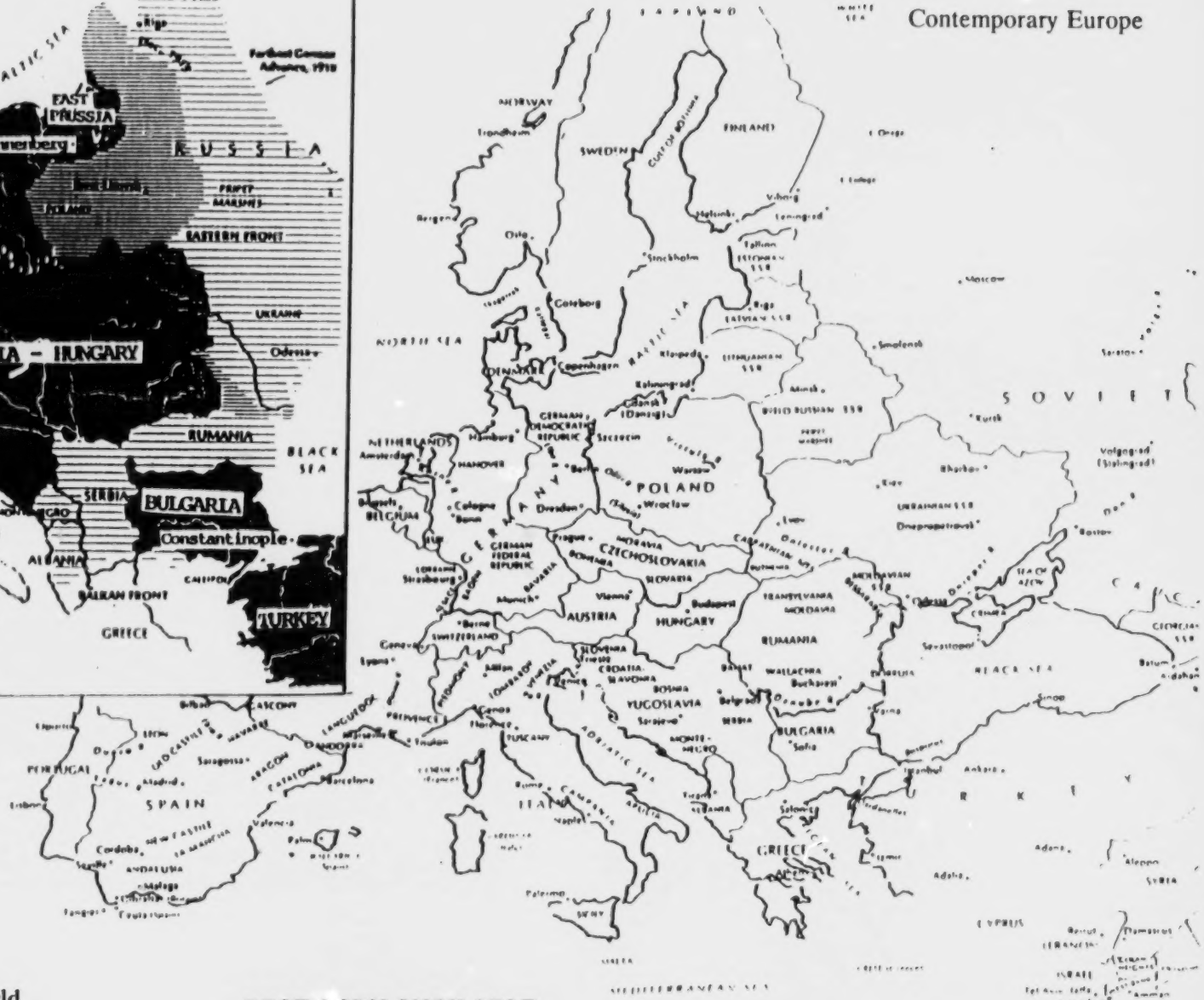
The late 1970s and 1980s saw Eastern Europe looking repeatedly to the West. Western banks during the 1970's loaned substantial sums to these countries. The recession of the 1980's caused an economic crisis for many of the countries since debt payments to the West became major budget expenditures.

The events of 1989 took most of the world by surprise. No one expected events to happen as quickly as they did. Most are agreed, however, that without the liberal policies instituted by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union regarding the granting of autonomy, both politically and economically none of the 1989 events could have taken place. In other words, the Soviet Union's departure from the Brezhnev Doctrine, which put the good of international socialism before the sovereignty of an individual nation, the Soviet Union's decision not to interfere militarily is key to these developments.

The re-emerging democracies of Eastern Europe are at this writing still in their infancies. Some countries have already held some elections, others are only planning their first democratic elections. We have made the bold decision to include the Baltic States in the section on Eastern Europe because, considering their histories, and current events, they should be included in this context, though they still remain within the Soviet Union at this time. Periodic updates will be issued to supplement information given in this guide.

East Central Europe 1914

Contemporary Europe



R.R. Palmer & Joel Colton
A History of the Modern World,
Alfred A.Knopf, New York, 1978

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Post World War II East European countries adopted many aspects of the governmental structure of their Soviet mentor, especially that the Communist party is the source of leadership and policymaking. The existence of other political groups in a national coalition-type organization did not compromise the dominant position of the Communist Party. This is a legacy of the coalition governments of immediate post-war Eastern Europe.

Party membership was kept within 6-12% of the population in each country in order to preserve the elitist character of the party. Party leaders were rather unsuccessful in recruiting youth to the party.

The reforms of 1989-90 have called, in most countries, to an end of the system of assuring the Communist Party the leading role in the government, and in Poland the Communist party was even disbanded.

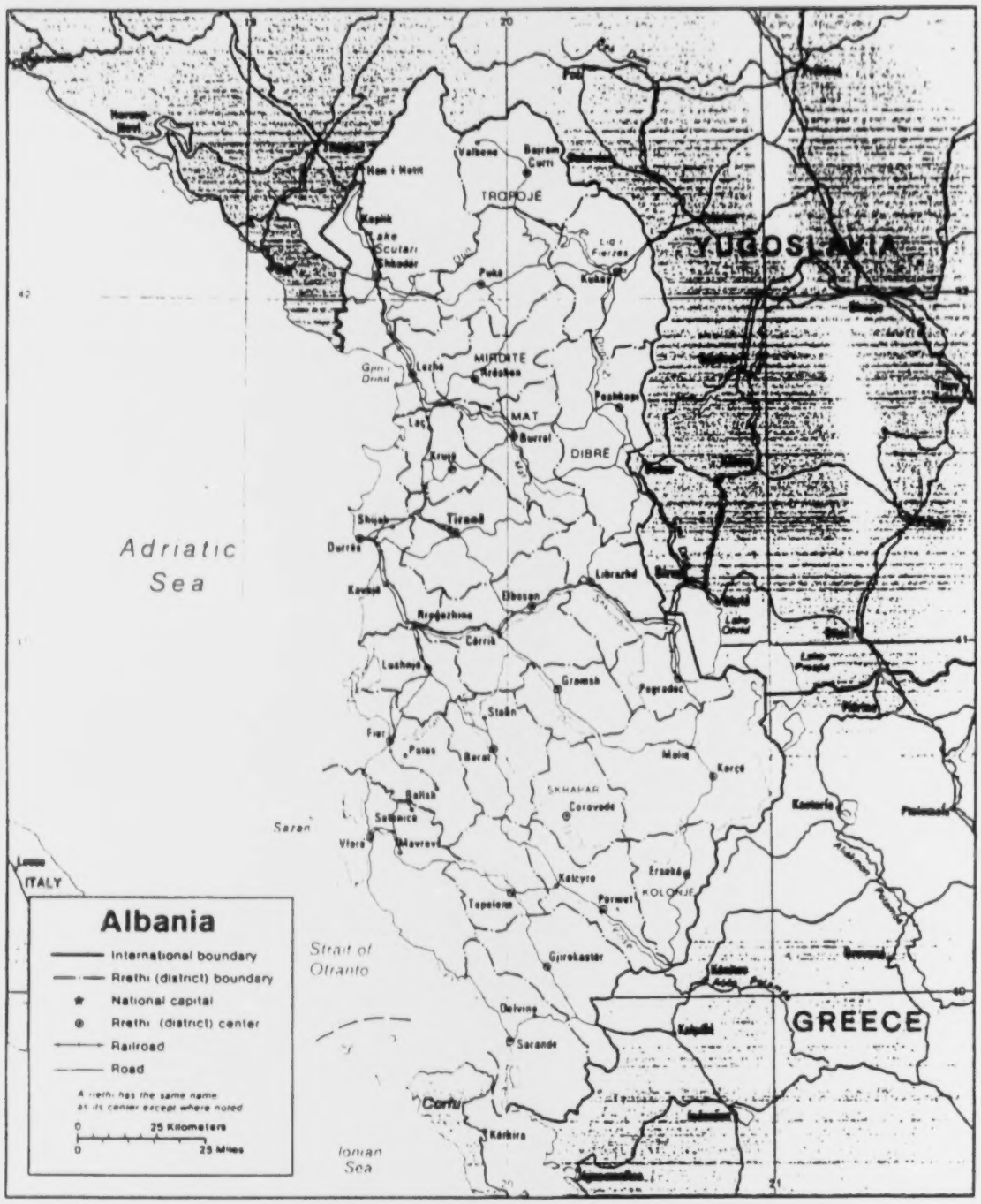
ECONOMY

After WWII, the East European states adopted the highly centralized Soviet economic model. The centrally planned economies (CPEs) call for comprehensive and national plans. These plans determined what to produce, how much to make, and where to distribute the products. The Stalinist economic model was to achieve socialism by means of state power equalizing the positions of the workers in relation to state owned means of production. A hierarchically organized state apparatus was established to accomplish this. The means to realize these goals were state ownership of property, central planning of production, administrative allocation of imputs, administrative rules, wages fixed by the state, an all-embracing state budget, consumption as a residual and the collectivization of agriculture.

Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany were the first to attempt to modify the CPE in order to create more efficient and consumer oriented systems. In 1950 Yugoslavia developed a worker's self management system which put some of the decision making process in the hands of the workers. In principle, workers in each factory or enterprise became trustees of socially owned property.

The biggest challenge facing the countries of Eastern Europe in the 1990s is how to change back from a centrally planned economy to a market-oriented economy without compromising the political freedoms they have regained.

ALBANIA



Albania

Area: 28,748 sq km (11,100 sq km)
Population: 2.873 million
Capital: Tirane (.19 million)
Official Language: Albanian
Religion: formerly Islam
Per Capita GNP: US$840

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. Language

Albanian is an Illyrian language, the only surviving language of the Thraco-Illyrian group. It is an Indo-European language with a highly inflected grammar characterized by, among other things, a post-posed and inflected definite article. Albanian was written in a number of different alphabets, some of them original, until the early twentieth century, when a modified Roman alphabet was adopted. Modern Albanian is divided into two mutually intelligible dialects, Geg and Tosk, the former of which is characterized by nasal vowels which the latter does not possess. There has been a movement, especially in socialist Albania, to standardize the language and merge the dialects, but this movement has been largely artificial, and Geg and Tosk are still spoken in their respective regions: Geg in the Northeast mountainous region and Tosk in the Southwest plain.

II. Geography

Albania is situated on the Adriatic south of Yugoslavia and north of Greece. Its geographic position has been significant in its history for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Albanian city of Vlore occupies a very strategic position on the Strait of Otranto and was an important issue in the tension batween Albania and the Soviet Union leading up to the break in relations in 1961. Northeast of Albania is the very controversial region of Kosovo, Yugoslavia, where nearly a fifth of the world's ethnic Albanians reside. The region Epirus, in the South, has historically been a point of great tension between the Albanians and the Greeks. Finally, Albania's close proximity to Turkey played a major role in its history; Ottoman rule was one of the most significant factors that shaped the Albania of today.

III. History

Overview: Early History. The Albanians are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, who were among the earliest inhabitants of the Balkans. They were conquered by a series of nations: the Romans, the Goths, the Bulgars, the Slavs, the Serbs, the Normans, and the Byzantines. The Ottoman Turks, their last overlords, converted a vast majority of the population to Islam. The Albanians are divided into two tribes: the Gegs and the Tosks. Historically, the Gegs are the northern mountain tribe, while the Tosks are a farming people who live in the southern coastal plains of the country.

Independent Albania. Albania became a state in 1912 after the first Balkan War but was not recognized as an independent state until 1920. The political situation remained very unstable until 1924, when Ahmed Zogu, a right-wing conservative, took power. Zogu, who proclaimed himself King Zog I in 1928, allowed the then fascist Italian government to gain increasing economic and eventually political control over Albania; Mussolini occupied Albania in 1939. A popular fascist movement, however, never developed in Albania since there was such great popular rensentment felt toward the fascist Italians.

Albanian Communism. A communist movement began in Albania in the early 1920s and developed mostly in exile after Zogu took power. This movement was largely split into factions until the early 1940s, when a unified Albanian communist party was formed with the aid of Yugoslav partisans. It led an anti-fascist popular front underground movement that in the Spring of 1944 started an offensive that drove out the withdrawing Germans and the rival republican partizan movements. By 1946, all opponents to the new communist government had been purged.

Post World War II - The Hoxha Era. Enver Hoxha did not consolidate his position as the head of the Albanian leadership until 1949. Up until that point, the Albanian leadership had been split into pro- and anti-Yugoslav factions, but Stalin's break with Tito in 1948 allowed Hoxa to take control of the situation and eliminate the pro-Yuoslav elements. Relations with the Soviet Union through the remaining Stalin's years were close and profitable, both polically and economically for the Albanians, but Khrushchev's policy of destalinization and his rapprochement with Tito alienated Hoxha. During the late 1950s, Albania grew closer to China, since the Chinese also disagreed with Khrushchev on destalinization and accused him and Tito of "revisionism" - the creative interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. These disagreements were compounded by the Soviet-Chinese friction which was developing at the same time and eventually led to the break in relations between the Soviet Union and Albania in 1961.

The Break with Moscow. The 1961 break was made possible with comprehensive Chinese support. The Chinese filled the gap when Soviet development aid was discontinued. They served as Albania's patrons for 17 years from 1961 to 1978 sending extensive aid as well as specialists and students to Albania. In the early 70s there was some "thaw", but this was ended in 1973 when Hoxha cracked down on youth, culture, and especially military technocrats whom he feared would stage a military coup. The mid-70s featured extensive leadership changes as he removed all individuals who might threaten him. This coincided with the break with China in 1978 chiefly over Chinese revisionism both domestically and abroad.

Albania Today. Albania in recent years has been totally isolated maintaining relations with few countries in the world. When Hoxha died in 1985, Ramiz Alia replaced him and Albania began to open up slowly to both the West and the East, more recently, relations between Albania and other European countries have improved. The system itself, however, remained largely the same through early 1990. In early February of 1990 the ninth plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party issued a 25-point reform program. Although the proposed changes are quite limited compared with those taking place in other East European countries, they are still significant. They indicate a new trend in Tirana that has developed in response to the dramatic transformations in neighboring countries.

IV. Government and Communist Party

The 1976 constitution named the Albanian Party of Labor as the vanguard of the working class and the sole leading force of state and society. Party organization is at district, city, village, and ward levels. These levels elect delegates to the party congress. The congress however merely approves decisions made by the real decisionmakers in the Politburo. The party is deeply involved in direction and control of every activity and institution in the political structure. The chief goal of the party is to ensure that there is no retreat from the Stalinist domestic, military and foreign policy of the government. The constitution stipulates that Marxism-Leninism is the official ideology, there is no private property, the practice of religion is prohibited, as is the acceptance of credits from the West, and the invitation or stationing of foreign troops is banned.

All other organizations serve merely to convey information to lower levels and implement decisions made in the Politburo. This applies both to the Trade Union and youth organizations as well as the government itself. The government is led by the 250 member People's Assembly to which delegates are elected for four year terms. The Assembly however meets only twice a year in two to three day sessions approving legislative proposals

submitted to it and ratifying government actions. The Assembly Praesidium consisting of 15 members serves as the nation's legislature when the Assembly is not in session. The Council of Ministers is the government's leading executive and administrative authority and oversees the implementation of party decisions.

V. Economic Conditions

The economy that the Communists inherited in 1945 was devastated and underdeveloped. The goal of the communist government was to transform the homeland from a backward agrarian nation to a modern industrial agricultural state. To realize this, high priority was placed on self-sufficiency and immunity from foreign economic coercion. The rapid development of industry was prescribed, as well as the exploitation of natural resources such as oil, chrome, iron, copper, and water for hydropower. All industry was nationalized and agriculture was collectivized.

The economy sustained high growth until 1961, when Soviet aid was withdrawn. Growth picked up again in 1966 with Chinese aid. The 1970s, however, were difficult times as growth slowed due to breakdowns in labor discipline and the inability to absorb aid. In the mid-1970s, the cuts in Chinese aid resulted in prolonged economic stagnation. This was chiefly seen in agriculture and has resulted in unmet agricultural targets and some food shortages.

VI. Religion

In 1966 Albania declared itself an atheist state by law. Religious observances were banned. However, estimates of the religious composition are: Muslim-70%, Albanian Orthodox-20%, and Roman Catholic and other-10%.

VII. Chronology

1300-750BC		Indo-European tribes settle on the Balkan Peninsula
1468		Conquered by Turks
1912-13		First Balkan War-revolt against Turks and independence
1925		Proclaimed a republic
1939		Occupied by Italy
1946	January	Republic proclaimed by Enver Hoxha
1949	December	Anti-Tito purges in Albania
1954	June	Party reorganized along Soviet lines
1959	July	Trade and Economic agreement signed with USSR
1961	February	4th Party Congress--denigrates peaceful coexistence supporting China against USSR
	May	Sejka, leader of Pro-Soviet faction arrested
	October	USSR 22nd Party Congress denounces Albania; Albania leaves CMEA
	November	East European ambassadors withdrawn
	December	USSR breaks ties
1974	March	Widespread purges because of Hoxha's denunciation of superpower detente
	September	Defense Minister Ballaku executed in purge

1976	April	Purges of Pro-Chinese leaders begin
1978	July	China ends all economic and technical aid
1982	November	USSR attempts to establish relations rebuffed
1985	January	Greek-Albanian economic agreement signed
	April	Hoxha dies; Ramiz Alia succeeds him
1989	December	Student protests in Tirana
1990	January	Student demonstrations in Shkoder
1990	February	Albanian Workers Party issues 25-point reform program

THE BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Area: 17,413 sq. miles
Population: 1,566,00
Capital: Tallinn
Language: Estonian
Religion: Lutheran

Latvia

Area: 24,595 sq. miles
Population: 2,667,000
Capital: Riga
Language: Latvian
Religion: Lutheran

Lithuania

Area: 25,1170 sq miles
Population: 3,673,000
Capital: Vilnius
Language: Lithuanian
Religion: Roman Catholic, Lutheran

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. Languages

The languages of the Latvians and Lithuanians belong to the Baltic group of the Indo-European languages, and thus are distantly related both to Russian and English. Although Latvian and Lithuanian are not mutually intelligible, the two languages are characterized by a similar lexical development and structure. The Estonian language belongs to the Balto-Finnic group of the Uralic language family. It is closely related to Finnish, and distantly related to Hungarian and a number of languages spoken in Western Siberia. Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian are all written with Roman letters.

II. Geography

The eastern shore of the Baltic Sea is a flat, agriculturally productive area. This area has long been surrounded by great empires, the Russian state to the east, the Swedish state to the north and west, the Prussian, and later German, states to the southwest, and the Polish state to the south. Because of differing historical circumstances, the Poles have had the greatest cultural influence in Lithuania, while Latvia and Estonia have been more strongly influenced by the Germans. The Estonians have also maintained close cultural ties with their brethren Finns across the Gulf of Finland, especially since the middle of the nineteenth century.

III. History

Estonia

The Estonians, as one of the original Balto-Finnic tribes, occupied their present-day area by the first millennium BC. Early Estonian hunters and trappers gradually explored the regions to the north, eventually settling and populating present-day Finland. The first influences of Christianity came from the Orthodox Russians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In 1219 Estonia was conquered by the Danes who founded Tallinn and gradually introduced western civilization into the country. In 1346 the Danes sold Estonia to the neighboring Teutonic Knights, and Tallinn and Narva became leading cities in the powerful Hanseatic League. The Reformation came to Estonia in the sixteenth century, and the country was converted to Lutheranism.

German rule came to an end in 1629 when Estonia was lost to Sweden. Estonia experienced a hundred-year "Golden Age" as part of the tolerant Swedish empire, and witnessed the founding of Tartu University in 1632. The Great Northern War brought an end to Sweden's undisputed status as a great power, and Estonia, along with neighboring Ingria, was lost to Russia at the conclusion of the war in 1721.

Estonia, like Finland, experienced a "national awakening" under Russian rule in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was inspired in part by the publication of Kalevipoeg, the national epic based on Estonian folklore and versified by the folklorist Kreutzwald.

The culmination of the Estonian cultural revival was independence, achieved in 1918 upon the dissolution of the Russian empire. Estonia became the first nation to recognize Soviet Russia, gaining in turn Soviet recognition of Estonia's sovereignty. A free, liberal, constitutional, democratic state was formed, but the interwar period was a difficult time for Estonia. Extreme political fragmentation coupled with powerful groups of fascist-leaning nationalists contributed to an unstable parliamentary government.

Great Power politics were to determine the fate of the Estonian state in the early years of World War II. In August, 1939 the Foreign Minister of the USSR Molotov met with German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to sign a Non-Aggression Pact between fascist Germany and the communist Soviet Union. Along with this treaty were included secret protocols which outlined the future division of Poland and the Baltic States. In 1940 the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were forcibly annexed to the USSR. Only in 1988 did the Soviets admit and publish the texts of these secret protocols. The United States has never officially recognized Soviet control over the three Baltic states.

Latvia

Recorded Latvian history begins in the twelfth century when German missionaries converted the Latvian people to Christianity. Riga thus became an important member of the medieval Hanseatic League of cities. In 1346 this German-run state on the shores of the Baltic became known as Livonia. Attacks from the Russians in the east throughout the sixteenth century weakened German rule in Livonia, leading to the collapse of the Teutonic Knights in 1561. Poland ruled Latvia for the remainder of the sixteenth century, and Sweden ruled the land until the eighteenth century. The 1721 treaty concluding the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia transferred Latvia to Russian rule, under which it was to remain until the twentieth century. Despite rule from Moscow, the German landowning nobility remained culturally dominant in Latvia.

Nationalist aspirations grew in Latvia throughout the nineteenth century, leading to Latvian independence in 1918. Interwar Latvia followed a path similar to Estonia and shared the same fate, forced annexation to the USSR in 1940.

Lithuania

Archaeologists have determined that ancestors of today's Lithuanians had moved to their present-day homeland by the first millennium BC. Unlike the Estonians and Latvians to the north, the Lithuanians managed to evade the powerful Teutonic Knights and the Russians throughout the Middle Ages. In 1386 Grand Duke Jagiello converted to Christianity and married the Polish princess Jadwiga, thus combining the crowns of Poland and Lithuania and bringing European civilization to one of the last pagan strongholds on the continent. The Union of Lublin in 1569 created a unified Polish-Lithuanian state, and Lithuania expanded eastward into a weakened Russia, becoming one of the largest states in Europe by the mid-sixteenth century.

In 1795 the final partition of Poland was finalized, Lithuania was given largely to Russia, and the last vestiges of the independent Baltic state were extinguished. Despite oppressive russification throughout the nineteenth century, Lithuania underwent a national revival similar to Estonia and Latvia, experiencing a renewed interest in and study of Lithuanian language, folklore, and history. In 1918 the country once again acquired its independence and established a parliamentary republic.

Like Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania's parliamentary experiment was not entirely successful. In addition to a politically fragmented parliamentary system, Lithuania was involved in territorial disputes with both Poland and Germany. Like Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania was drawn into Great Power politics in the 1930s and forcibly annexed to the USSR in 1940.

IV. Government and Politics

Post-War: The Baltic states entered the USSR as Soviet Socialist Republics. In the following years the republics were incorporated into the Soviet governmental, party, and economic structures. The republic Communist parties were bolstered and controlled from Moscow, and all economic activities were controlled by the Soviet central planning agency, Gosplan. [For more on the role of republics within in the Soviet system, see pages 1-2.]

Recent Reforms - Estonia: Following Gorbachev's ascent to power in 1985, progressives and reformists in Estonia led the republic into the vanguard of **perestroika** and **glasnost**. Euphoric and dramatic marches and declarations dominated 1986-1988, and in 1989 reformists made a concerted effort to address the serious questions of political reform. The Estonian Supreme Soviet revived itself and became a positive force for change within the republic. In 1989 the Supreme Soviet passed a law making Estonian the official language of the republic, authorized public use of the Estonian national flag, and set restrictive residency requirements for voting. However, the USSR Ministry of Justice proclaimed the voting law unconstitutional and demanded that it be repealed. In face of extremely harsh criticism from Moscow, the Estonian Supreme Soviet capitulated and two months later suspended the new residency requirements. In a dramatic move, the Estonian Supreme Soviet declared null and void the 1940 forced annexation of Estonia to the USSR.

The Estonian Popular Front has become the most powerful political organization in the republic. Its platform, published in October 1989, describes Estonia as an occupied country and demands democratic elections, a referendum on the question of independence, and the demilitarization of the republic. Citizens' Committees have become vocal, reminding people of Estonia's achievements as an independent country during the interwar period. A loose grouping of Russian elements, known as "Intermovement," opposed to reform along the lines favored by Estonians, has been formed to protect the interests of non-Estonians. The Estonian Union of Work Collectives, representing labor groups, is the largest mass organization in the republic. Although it has thus far maintained a rather low profile, its organizational abilities indicate that its influence will probably grow.

The fragmentation of the Estonian Communist Party has continued, and the republic's Supreme Soviet is expected to abolish the leading role of the Party. The Party organization of the Estonian Writers Union ceased its activities, and the Estonian Komsomol voted to disband because of its declining influence and popularity.

Various publications of the Estonian press have reflected the remarkable changes taking place within Estonian society. By 1989 most periodicals had adopted new covers and had begun to de-Sovietize their titles. Most eliminated the phrase "Proletarians of the world, unite!" from their mastheads. A number of new titles have emerged in the free press, often financed through joint ventures with Finland or the Scandinavian countries. Two important literary journals, Looming and Vikerkaar ceased to submit their material for approval to Glavlit, the state censorship agency.

Recent Reforms - Latvia:

The reform movement in Latvia has been more conservative than in either Estonia or Latvia, partly because Latvians constitute just 54% of the republic. The large and vocal Russian population has served as a retarding factor to dramatic political changes in the republic. Nevertheless, Latvian reformists have in recent years clearly defined their goals and the direction of future developments in the republic. Of greatest significance has been

the open and widespread endorsement of the concept of Latvia as an independent and democratic country separate from the USSR.

The authority of the Soviet regime declined steadily in Latvia in the late 1980s. Despite its continued monopoly on power, the Communist Party of Latvia has not shaped the direction of developments in the republic; rather, it has adjusted to changes brought about by the people. It has been suggested that the Latvian Party become an independent political entity by loosening its ties with the CPSU. These discussions have revealed the level of dissension and lack of cohesiveness within the Latvian Party.

Other political groups have formed and have become active within the republic. The Popular Front of Latvia, founded in 1988, has emerged as a real political force. In 1989 the Popular Front began to state openly that its goal was an independent and democratic Latvia. The Latvian National Independence Movement has participated successfully in elections. Other parties include "Rebirth," the "Radical Association," the "Republican Party," and the "Greens." In addition, the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party has been reestablished and held its first congress in December, 1989.

The tradition of cooperation among the Baltic states, thwarted in the post-war years by the Soviet regime, has been revived. Jointly organized activities have dramatically increased and diversified, especially after the 1989 formation of the Baltic Council in Tallinn.

The economic situation has continued to decline in Latvia, as in the entire USSR. A kind of rationing system has been established to ensure that Latvian residents have priority access to some of the high-demand items which otherwise might be bought out by people who intend to send them to other parts of the country. The Latvian Supreme Soviet passed a law "On the Economic Autonomy of the Latvian SSR" in 1989, and later that year suggested further integration of the economies of the Baltic states and the establishment of a Baltic common market. The implementation of these plans for Baltic economic integration and economic autonomy will depend largely on the good will of Moscow.

Recent Reforms - Lithuania:

Significant changes in Lithuanian society and political life commenced in 1988 with the establishment of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, "Sajudis," and continued to gather momentum in 1989 and 1990. The triumph of "Sajudis" in the 1989 elections to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies confirmed that the Lithuanian movement had become the leading force in the republic and that the majority of the republic wanted greater independence. The tremendous success of "Sajudis" has forced the Lithuanian Communist Party to abandon many of its traditional policies and make extraordinary efforts to win the support of the people, even at the cost of alienating the Kremlin.

The role of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has changed considerably since the emergence of "Sajudis." Not longer merely a body which ratifies decisions made by the Latvian Communist Party, the republic's Supreme Soviet now actively debates issues and plays an active role in the republic's political system. In 1989 the Supreme Soviet approved a "Declaration of State Sovereignty" and a "Law on Economic Sovereignty." In the same year, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet found the 1940 forced annexation of the country to the USSR to be illegal and invalid.

As in the other Baltic republics, other organizations have emerged as politically-active groups. These include the Lithuanian Freedom League, the Lithuanian Social Democratic

Party, the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party, and the Tremtinys Association, which has been actively engaged in collection information on the Lithuanian victims of Stalinism. Dissatisfaction with the Komsomol's monopoly on youth activities led to the reestablishment of pre-war youth organizations which are generally hostile to the Lithuanian Komsomol. In 1989 the republic's Komsomol held an extraordinary congress that ended its subordination to the All-Union Komsomol, and declared itself an independent communist youth movement.

In 1989 Lithuania became the first republic to formally challenge the monopoly of the CPSU, and in 1990, led by President Vytautas Landsbergis, the republic declared itself independent from the USSR. Although Moscow claimed it would not resort to violence, the reaction was speedy and in utmost seriousness. A significant Soviet military presence was made, Lithuanians were ordered to turn in their firearms, foreign diplomats were ordered to stay out of the republic, and the KGB stepped up its patrol of border posts and the Ignalina atomic plant which provides much of the electricity consumed in Leningrad. Soviet troops occupied printing presses, the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Communist Party headquarters. Parallels have been drawn with the 1968 Prague Spring, which led to the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

V. Economy

In the face of terrible shortages of consumer goods throughout the Soviet Union in recent years, Baltic deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposed in 1989 a law that would grant the Baltic republics economic independence. The law passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet proved to be vague enough to allow for much ministerial interpretation in its implementation, and the republics continued to press for more economic autonomy. All three republics have passed laws regarding their economic autonomy, but they remain incorporated into the Soviet economic system.

VI. Religion

The dominant religion in both Estonia and Latvia is Lutheranism, while Lithuania has traditionally been Catholic. There has, however, been a large Catholic community in Latgalia, an area in the eastern portion of Latvia, and a small group of Orthodox, known as the Setu, in southeastern Estonia.

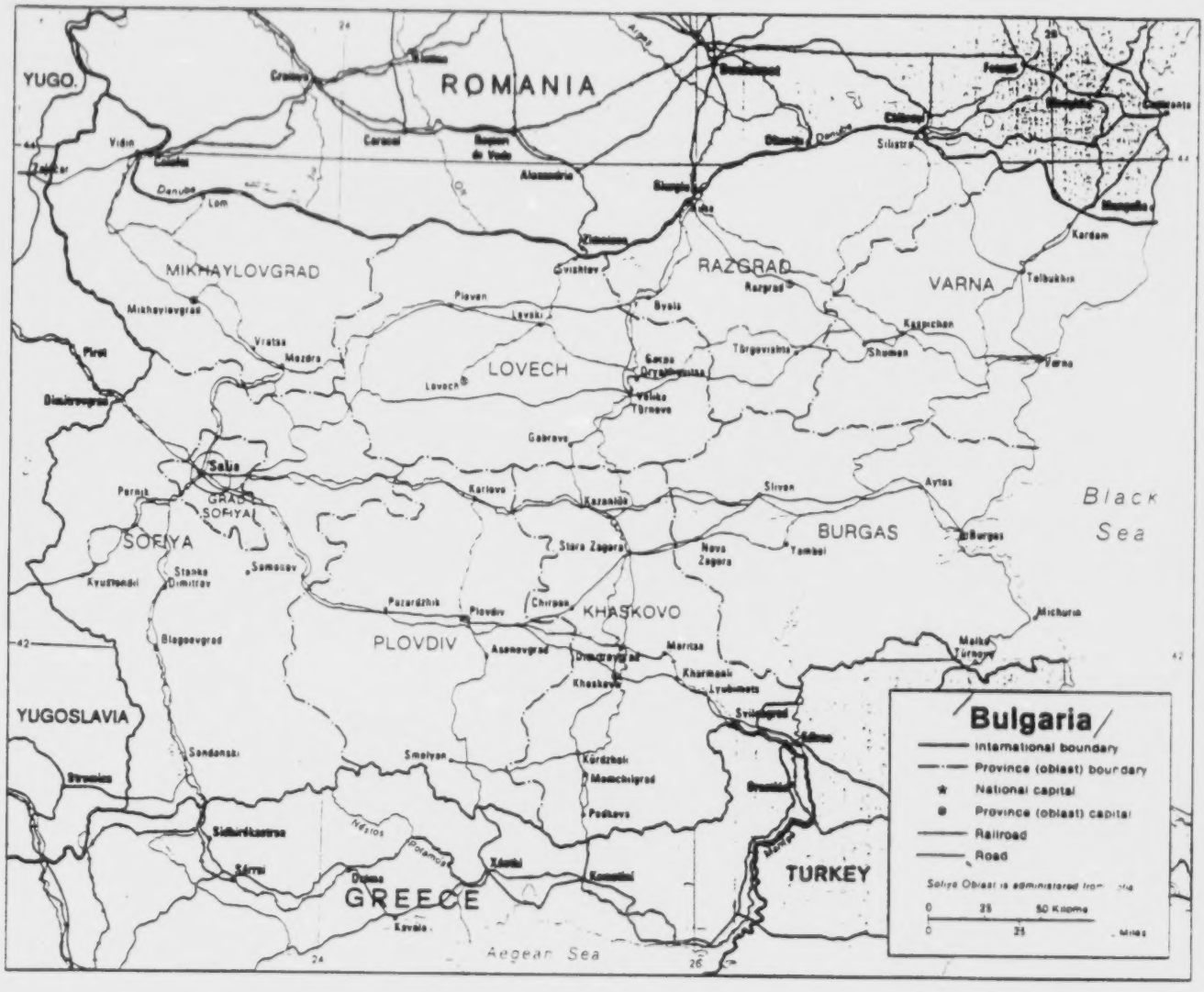
VII. Chronology

1000 BC	Ancestors of Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian) and Balto-Finnic (Estonian) peoples migrate to shores of Baltic Sea
13th cent	German missionaries convert Latvians; settle and become ruling class
1219	Estonia conquered and Christianized by Danes; Tallinn founded
1346	Estonia sold to Teutonic Knights who become ruling class
1386	Jagiello accepts Christianity; crowns of Poland and Lithuania combined
1561	Teutonic Knights dissolved; Estonia to Sweden, Latvia to Poland-Lithuania
1569	Union of Lublin creates powerful Polish-Lithuanian state
1721	Conclusion of Great Northern War; Estonia, and Latvia become part of Russian Empire

1795		Final partition of Poland; Lithuania becomes part of Russian Empire
1918		Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania become independent states upon dissolution of Russian Empire
1939		Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
1940		Baltic States forcibly annexed by USSR
1988		Lithuanian Restructuring Movement "Sajudis" founded Vilnius Cathedral returned to Catholic church
	August	Publication of 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
	October	Popular Front of Latvia founded
1989	January	Estonian Supreme Soviet declares Estonian official language of the republic
	February	Lithuanians call for independence at mass rallies Traditional Estonian flag is raised over government buildings
	March	Elections to USSR Congress of People's Deputies; "Sajudis" wins overwhelmingly in Lithuania, Popular Front of Latvia wins about 3/4 of Latvian deputies, voting in Estonia follows ethnic lines with Estonian Popular Front winning "Intermovement" formed in Estonia to advocate the cause of Russian residents of the republic
	May	Baltic Council formed to coordinate Baltic activities Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares USSR laws invalid in the republic Estonian Supreme Soviet declares the republic economically independent
	June	Lithuanian Communist Party plenum - Central Committee membership resigns Lithuanian Komsomol declares its independence from all-Union Komsomol Popular Front of Latvia declares as its goal an independent Latvia Ceremony unveiling restored monument of Estonian interwar President Päts in Tahkuranna; 30,000 attend
	July	Latvian Supreme Soviet declares republic sovereignty within USSR
	August	Almost two million people join hands along the "Baltic Way" from Tallinn through Riga and Vilnius, demanding the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; CPSU Central Committee strongly condemns "excessive nationalism" in the Baltics Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact illegal and invalid
	October	Estonian Popular Front declares Estonia is an occupied country
	November	Lithuanian Supreme Soviet passes restrictive citizenship law, amends constitution to permit freedom of thought and conscience Estonian Komsomol disbands Estonian Supreme Soviet declares 1940 annexation by USSR null and void
	December	Lithuanian Communist Party breaks with CPSU
1990	January	Gorbachev fails to bring Lithuanian Communist Party back into CPSU Latvian Supreme Soviet abolishes Latvian Communist Party's leading role in society; traditional Latvian flag is reinstated Estonian Communist Party announces it will remain within CPSU
	February	Lithuanian and Latvian Supreme Soviets declare invalid the 1940 annexations by USSR Lithuanian Supreme Soviet abolishes censorship and legalizes private property in republic Estonian Supreme Soviet abolishes Estonian Communist Party's leading role in society "Sajudis" candidates win in elections to Lithuanian Supreme Soviet
	March	Lithuania declares itself independent from USSR Elections for Latvian Supreme Soviet, Popular Front of Latvia wins majority of seats USSR Supreme Soviet passes law on republican secession, outlining for the first time the process by which a republic may secede

	USSR Supreme Soviet passes constitutional amendments widening President's powers; President Gorbachev is empowered to declare any republic a state of emergency and introduce direct, presidential rule
April	Estonian Supreme Soviet forbids Estonians to serve in Soviet Army

BULGARIA



Bulgaria

Area: 110,912 sq km (42,826 sq miles)
Population: 8.999 million
Capital: Sofia (1.032 million)
Official Language: Bulgarian
Religion : Eastern Orthodox (27%), Islam (7%)
Unit of Currency: Lev
Per Capita GNP: US$3690

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. Alphabet and Language

Bulgarian is a language of the South-Slavic group, related to Russian, and is written in the Cyrillic alphabet as is Russian.

II. Geography

Bulgaria is located in the Balkan region of South-East Europe, on the West coast of the Black Sea. It is bordered by Romania to the North, Yugoslavia to the West and Greece and Turkey to the South. Bulgaria's proximity to Turkey is very important since the significant Turkish ethnic minority continues to be a major social and political problem.

III. History

Early History. The Bulgarians are originally a Slavic people that migrated from the ancient Slavic homelands around the Vistula River towards the attractive glitter and tradition of Byzantium between 500 and 700AD. Between 800 and 1000, an Avar people named the Bulgars moved into the area conquering these Slavic tribes and molding them into the first Bulgarian Empire, stretching from the Black Sea to the Adriatic Sea. The first Bulgarian Empire reached its height under Czar Simeon, an ambitious Czar who coveted the crown of Byzantium for himself. After a brief period of competition with the Roman Catholic Church, Byzantium won the right to convert the Bulgarians to Christianity. In 1018, however, Byzantium ruler Basil II defeated the Bulgarian army and conquered Bulgaria. It was not until the 12th century that the Bulgarians would rise up to establish their second kingdom. In 1330, the Serbs finally subdued the Bulgarians and forced them to become a vassal.

Ottoman Rule. The arrival of the Ottoman Turks in the area and their conquest of Bulgaria was at first not entirely bad as the Bulgarians were allowed to keep their Orthodox faith, paid only head-tax and a child-tribute. As the empire began to break down in the 17th and 18th Centuries, Phanarioties, or Greeks who administered and ruled in the Ottoman Empire, increased their influence in Bulgaria, forbidding the Slavonic liturgy, propagating Greek culture through schools and monasteries, and maintaining a firm hold on economic life. This helped to foster a growing national awareness that eventually blossomed after Russian military assistance in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 established the first state in the northern half of the country. Although the state annexed territory in 1885 and 1912, Bulgarians were never satisfied with the borders of the new state unless Bulgaria consisted of the "San Stefano" borders, named after the 1877 treaty that granted Bulgaria all of Macedonia, an area Bulgarians claim is populated by Bulgarians.

The World Wars. In World War I, the Bulgarians joined the Central Powers and attacked Serbia in order to take Macedonia. After defeat in the war and the loss of Macedonia to a newly created Yugoslavia, the Agrarian Union, a peasant-middle class party, took over under the leadership of Alexander Stamboliski. His radical reforms of land ownership alienated the rural middle class and the military, who staged his overthrow in 1923. These middle class parties ruled Bulgaria throughout the Second World War, when Bulgaria again entered the war on the side of the Axis to regain Macedonia.

Post World War II. The defeat of the Axis led directly to Soviet occupation and the rise of the Communist party in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Communist Party had some popular support when they were the 2nd largest party in the 1920s. They also organized the Fatherland Front, a broad coalition of parties opposing the war which came to power after

the Soviet occupation. After abolishing the monarchy and winning elections in 1947, opposition parties were eliminated within the coalition. The late forties and early fifties were characterized by the establisment of a centrally planned economy which nationalized industry, banks, and trade firms, the purges of nationalists such as Traicho Kostov in 1949, and tolerance of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in an attempt to link it to the state. The party was led by Vulko Chervenkov until the death of Stalin in 1953.

Post Stalin. The destalinization campaign of the mid and late 1950s led directly to the rise of Todor Zhivkov. He initially emphasized light industry and food branches over heavy industry until 1962 when he eliminated his rivals in the Politburo. The purported military coup of 1965 by disgruntled military officers and political rivals convinced Zhivkov to drop all pretenses of economic or political reforms. Bulgaria's domestic situation reflected its close ties to the policies of the Soviet Union and the Brezhnev regime through the decades which followed. Bulgaria did not join the East European wave of reform made possible by the Soviet Union's change in domestic policy until May of 1989, when Todor Zhivkov proposed broad reforms. The changes moved too slowly, however, and in November Zhivkov resigned as Secretary General of the Bulgarian Communist Party. In January of 1990, the Bulgarian communist party relinquished its role as the leading party in Bulgaria and the way opened for Bulgaria to hold democratic elections.

IV. The Political System

The political system in Bulgaria is currently undergoing dynamic changes. The political situation as it stood until 1990 is described below.

The constitution of Bulgaria states that the leading force in Bulgarian society is the Bulgarian Communist Party. Nearly all political and economic decisions have been made in the Secretariat and the Politburo which contain eight permanent and six alternate members. These members are elected by the Central Committee which wields power between party congresses meeting two to six times a year to legitimize and publicize party policies. The party congress meets every five years and is selected from lower-level party organizations.

All other organizations have existed to publicize and implement party policy decided in the Politburo. On the one hand, mass organizations, exist such as the Fatherland Front, as an umbrella for all other mass organizations and a vehicle for mass participation in politics and the Agrarian Union which acts as the other political party in the country and deals with agricultural questions. The goal of the government was likewise to implement the decisions of the Party. The State Council is the highest body of state administration exercising the functions of the National Assembly when it is not in session. The National Assembly is the supreme organ of state power meeting only a few times a year announcing, publicizing, and legitimizing decisions made elsewhere.

V. Economic Conditions

The economy in Bulgaria has been organized essentially on the achievement of these tasks: the institution of centralized planning, the collectivization of agriculture, and the development of heavy industry. These tasks were established for an economy that had remained chiefly rural with 81.9% of the population in 1948 engaged in agriculture. Since then, the majority of investments have been towards industry not related to agricultural production such as heavy industry, engineering, machine building, chemicals, and metallurgy. Thus, by the 1980s, industrial workers had become the main class. The urban population

is now larger than the rural population and the country overall has a higher level of education.

The economic system, however, has been plagued by economic inefficiency. Most reform projects have centered on the need to eliminate waste and improve efficiency by holding firms financially accountable and reducing the level of bureaucracy. One such reform was the agro-industrial complexes of the 1970s which were to achieve horizontal integration of agricultural productive units, permit mechanization at a lower cost, and encourage specialization.

VI. Religion

Accepting Christianity from Byzantium in the ninth century, the Bulgars have remained predominately Orthodox (85%). Muslims make up another 13%.

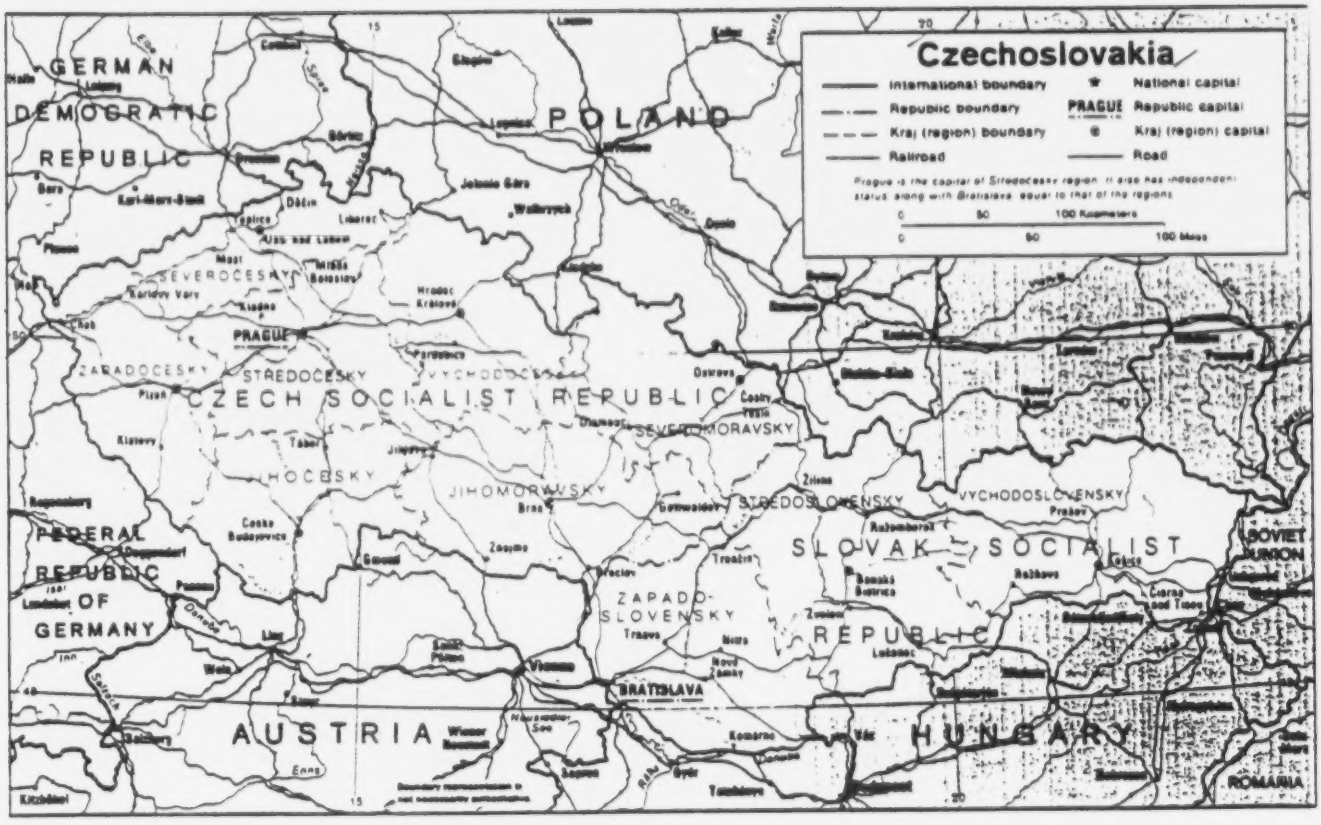
VII. Chronology

500-700		Slavic Tribes migrate into Balkans
800-1000		First Bulgars take possession of land between Danube and Black Sea
865-70		Bulgarians converted to Christianity
893-927		"First" Bulgarian Kingdom stretches from Adriatic to Black Sea
1018		Basil II annexes Bulgaria to Byzantine Empire
12th Cent.		Bulgarians rise and establish Second Bulgarian Empire
1330		Bulgaria defeated by Serbia; becomes vassal
1393		Bulgaria comes under Ottoman Rule
1877		First independent Bulgarian state established
1912/13		First Balkan War--Bulgaria joins coalition against Turkey reducing Turkish territory
1913		Second Balkan War--Bulgaria attacked by Serbia and Greece; Romania and Turkey join later--loses much of gains of First Balkan War
1915		Bulgaria Enters WWI with Central Powers attacking Serbia
1918		Bulgaria collapses at end of WWI losing territory to Greece, Yugoslavia
1946	March	Georgiev cabinet resigns
	September	Monarchy rejected in plebiscite; People's republic proclaimed
	October	Fatherland Front wins majority in Bulgarian National Assembly; Communist dominated cabinet under Georgi Dimitrov
1947	December	Soviets evacuate all forces
1948	December	Dimitrov enunciates "People's Democracy" Theory
1949	April	Kostov removed for national deviation
	December	Kostov and nine others tried and hung
1950	August	250,000 Turkish Moslems expelled
	October	Purges of officials and cabinet begins
	November	Soviet nationals granted same rights as Bulgarian citizens

1954		Zhivkov takes Secretariat, releases political prisoners; highest rate of collectivization in Eastern Europe
1956	February	Kostov rehabilitated
1957	February July	1500 student sympathizers of Hungarian revolt expelled from University Cabinet shakeups--advocates of close ties to Yugoslavia ousted
1959		Zhivkov puts forward plans for full collectivization of agriculture and decentralization of industry
1962	November	Zhivkov ousts Yugov, Chervekov groups from party in fight over destalinization
1963	May	Recentralization of industry and agriculture
1965	April	Plot uncovered against Zhivkov by liberals in Central Committee and Sofia Military District
1969	March August	Warnings against deviationism and Westernization by Zhivkov Agreement with Turkey on repatriation of ethnic Turks
1975	November	Zhivkov visits FRG and signs trade and economic agreements
1980	June	Joint Ventures with non-communist foreign enterprises allowed
1986		Helsinki Watch reports killings of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria
1987	May	Zhivkov pushes broad reforms, attacks party and proposes reducing role of government in economy
1989	November 10	Todor Zhivkov resigns as Secretary General of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Petar Mladenov is elected to replace him
	December 13	Todor Zhivkov is expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party
1990	January 15	The Bulgarian Communist Party relinquishes its role as the leading party in Bulgaria
	January 18	Todor Zhivkov is arrested for "incitement of ethnic hostility and hatred, the unwarranted receipt of excessive amounts of public property, and gross abuse of power."
	February 1	Prime Minster Georgi Atanasov and his government resign amid charges of incompetence and of being a holdover from the Zhivkov regime
	February 2	Petar Mladenkov replaced by Alexander Lilov as Presidium Chairman.
	February 3	Andrei Lukanov elected Prime Minister. He proposes formation of a national coalition government
	February 4	Bulgaria's Christian Republican Party debates the question of Bulgaria as a republic or a monarchy. The Bulgarian Democratic Monarchist Party of Plovdiv calls for restoration of King Simeon II to the throne
	February 8	National Assembly approves all-communist cabinet. Decision is protested by several hundred people
	February 13	Bulgarian Communist Party daily newspaper "Rabotnicheskoe Delo" removes slogan "Proletarians of all countries unite" from its front page

February 20	Prime Minister Boyko Dimitrov opposes disbanding of Warsaw Pact as long as NATO still exists
February 25	200,000 people hold three-hour demonstration in Sofia to protest alleged Bulgarian Communist Party stalling of reforms

CZECHOSLOVAKIA



Czech and Slovak Federated Republic

Area: 49,373 sq miles
Population: 15.556 million
Capital: Prague
Languages: Czech and Slovak
Religion: Roman Catholic, Protestant
Unit of Currency: Koruna (Crown)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. Alphabet and Language

Czech and Slovak are similar but distinct western Slavic languages that are both written in the Latin alphabet. Both languages are noted for their melodious intonations.

II. Geography

Czechoslovakia is located in Central Europe. It borders Austria, East Germany, Poland, Ukraine, and Hungary. The natural boundaries are the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube River. The Czech regions of Bohemia and Moravia are dominated by the Carpathians and include much of the heavy industry of the country. Slovakia is comprised almost wholly of agricultural lands to the east and the Tatra Mountains to the west.

III. Historical Background AD 500 - 1990

Czechoslovakia as a nation was formed in 1918. It is the union of two Slavic peoples, the Czechs and Slovaks, from three regions, Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. These two nations' divergent historical origins shape their present societies.

Early History. The Slavs originally settled in the area of present-day Czechoslovakia from east of the Carpathian mountains in the sixth century A.D. By the ninth century, parts of present day Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary comprised the Great Moravian Empire. This empire flourished under Samo (AD 630), Rastislav (800), and Svätopluk (880). At this time, there was unity between the Czechs and Slovaks. From 903 to 906, the Hungarians broke the stronghold of the Great Moravian Empire and seized the Slovak lands. These lands remained under Hungarian rule for one thousand years until the re-emergence of Czechoslovakia as an independent nation after World War I.

The new Bohemian Empire in the 10th century grew in area and political consolidation under the influence of the Frankish Empire. The Přemyslide Dynasty (10th to 12th century) was the most powerful in the history of Bohemia. Perhaps the most famous member of this dynasty was Václav ("Good King" Wenceslas), who was martyred for his Christian belief and his relationship with the Germans. He was later canonized a saint. Although the kingdom fell increasingly under German influence, the territory increased significantly under Přemysl Otakar I (1197-1230) and Přemysl Otakar II (1253-1278). The boundaries of the Bohemian Empire reached the Adriatic, but Otakar II was defeated by the German Emperor Rudolf I, and the kingdom was reduced to the regions of Bohemia and Moravia. In the 14th century, Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, became king of Bohemia.

In the early 1400s, the Czech teacher Jan Hus began to preach against corruption within the Catholic Church. In 1415, Hus was summoned to court by order of the king, and he was then burned at the stake for heresy. The Hussites, those who had risen up to fight against the German nobles and become warriors of the faith, continued to fight against the nobles until the 1430s.

After a brief period of independence in the sixteenth century, the Czechs were finally defeated by the Habsburgs in 1620 at the Battle of White Mountain. They remained under Habsburg rule until the twentieth century.

Czech and Slovak National Revivals. The Czech National Revival arose out of the late eighteenth century among village-educated people. Scientific activity, literature, and

education were all emphasized. František Palacký (1798-1876) was the most famous Czech historian who wrote revivalist history, emphasizing the greatness of the medieval Bohemian Empire.

In contrast to the Czechs, the Slovaks remained in relative isolation from external influences and encountered frequent harassment from the Hungarians. The Slovaks, however, were able to preserve their identity along with the customs and traditions of their history. In 1846, L'udovit Stur formulated an orthography of the Slovak language which was based on the central dialect of Slovakia. This firmly established Slovak as both a distinct and literary Slavic language. Jan Kollár (1793-1852) and Pavel Safarik (1795-1861) were founders of the Pan-Slav movement which spread throughout Europe. They believed that the Slavs were one people who spoke four dialects of the same language, and they looked to the day when all Slavs would be united together under one nation.

The Czechoslovak Republic. The end of World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg empire led to the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic. In an agreement in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Czech leaders concluded a pact with Slovak immigrants to create a federal state that would unite the Czechs and Slovaks as well as Ruthenians. On October 28, 1918, independence was declared from the Habsburg Empire. A parliamentary system would exist in which no individual party could win a majority. A multi-party coalition government existed throughout the interwar period. The philosopher and university professor Tomaš G. Masaryk became the first president of the republic until 1935.

The issue which became important in interwar Czechoslovakia was the nearly three million Germans and 700,000 Hungarians who lived in areas contiguous to their homelands. The Nazis in particular emphasized the supposed mistreatment of the German minority in the Czech lands. The Hungarian government, dissatisfied with the Trianon Treaty after World War I which significantly decreased previous territory, pushed for return of Slovak territory.

World War II. The Munich Agreement of 1938 gave Germany the Sudetenland, and the First Vienna Award gave parts of southern Slovakia to Hungary. On March 14, 1939, Slovakia declared itself independent under pressure from Germany, and Ruthenia followed the next day with a similar declaration. Slovak and Ruthenian nationalists had also been pushing for a break with the Czechs. On March 15, Germany occupied all of the Czech lands. Hungary then occupied Ruthenia and the eastern section of Slovakia. After the Munich Agreement, President Edvard Beneš left the country and was exiled in London.

After the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945, the country again was led by President Edvard Beneš who attempted to cooperate with both the USSR and the West. A new cabinet was formed with members of the Communist Party. The Košice Program in 1945 maintained a National Front in which liberal parties and the Communist Party participated. Eventually, some political parties were banned, and the state began to control large sectors of the economy. 1945-48 was a failed attempt at coexistence with the Communist party. This ended with the coup d'etat on February 25, 1948.

1948 Communist Coup. After February, the structure of Czechoslovakia was changed to the Soviet model. The Communist Party also retained a monopoly of political power. President Beneš resigned in June. Czechoslovakia during this period exemplified an extremely durable and hostile sort of Stalinism. Immediately after the takeover, laws were passed to abolish the last remnants of liberal democracy by reorganizing People's Councils as organs of local government revamping the judicial system and establishing a totalitarian

state to serve the process of economic revolution by bringing about the complete socialization of industry, trade, and services. Government organizations operated as a "transmission belt," transmitting information to higher organs on which leaders made decisions and conferring orders down through the hierarchy. The national assembly held only brief sessions with unanimous approval of all decisions. The cabinet was dominated by Politburo members, and political committees were established on a bureaucratic basis. Slovak autonomy, although guaranteed in the constitution, was severely limited and Slovak leaders were purged from the party. This period was best characterized by the revised 1960 constitution, which emulated the contemporary Soviet constitution and stated that Marxism-Leninism was the state ideology and that the leading role in society was held by the Communist Party. Approximately 80,000 Czechs and Slovaks escaped as a result of the Communist takeover.

The Spring Thaw. From 1963 to 1968, Czechoslovak Stalinism underwent its most severe crisis due to a decline in economic growth, the rehabilitation of some of the victims of Stalinism, and the rise of Slovak nationalism. In January 1968, President Antonin Novotny was replaced by Alexander Dubček. Dubček attempted "socialism with a human face": to combine socialism with democracy and economic security with civil liberties. The Action Program of 1968 abolished censorship and reviewed the rehabilitation law, making it more liberal. Splits within the party and a seeming decline in the role of the party threatened Stalinists both within the Czechoslovak party and in the Warsaw Pact. On August 21, 1968, the Soviet Union (along with the Warsaw Pact countries) invaded Czechoslovakia, justifying itself by the Brezhnev Doctrine, which limited sovereignty of the East Bloc countries. Dubcek initially remained President but was eventually forced to resign. Gustav Husak, a hard-line Communist, replaced him.

Brezhnev Freeze. The seventies symbolized a return to the Soviet model of development with an emphasis on satisfying the material needs of the population. Although there was some talk of reorienting the economy towards consumer goods and decentralizing the administration, Czechoslovakia continued its Stalinist system of development even in the Gorbachev era of liberalization and economic decentralization. Miloš Jakeš, as new head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in December of 1987, removed reform-minded rivals and tried to create some consensus to a politburo sorely divided over the issue of reform. The continuing decline of the economy and reforms to improve its production had been separated from any political reforms in Czechoslovakia. The economy, however, with little foreign debt, ample consumer goods, and some economic changes, had not overtly affected the poor efficiency of enterprises and investment chiefly in heavy industry. The government continued the crackdown on illegal dissidents such as Václav Havel, publications and demonstrations as well as to reformist church and intellectual organizations (Charter 77).

The Velvet Revolution 1989. Growing dissatisfaction at the lack of political and social reforms coupled with reforms in other East European countries and the Soviet Union led to the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia. The Velvet Revolution, so named because of its peaceful occurrence, first gained momentum among intellectuals and students. The idea of reform quickly spread throughout the country and among the workers, and the revolution gained nation-wide acceptance. Communist leaders Miloš Jakeš and Gustav Husak has no other choice but to resign, and the Communist Party was forced to give up its political monopoly. Dissident and playwright Václav Havel became the spokesman for the newly formed group Civic Forum, and in late December 1989 was elected president. Alexander Dubček was elected chairman of the Parliament. For a timetable of Velvet Revolution events, see the Chronology (Part VII).

The country of Czechoslovakia is now in the state of great transition. Virtually every aspect of governmental policy must undergo restructuring. Economic reforms have not even been attempted; the elections in June will signify the start of serious changes. The new republic is in the process of changing its name to accommodate both the Czech and Slovak populations. Contrary to 1918, Czechs and Slovaks will work towards equal representation in government, and leaders have abandoned any idea of a united Czechoslovak nationality.

IV. Economic System

Czechoslovakia is formed by 19 administrative regions averaging 5-6,000 sq. km each comprising a population of 5-600,000. Each region is further divided into 12-15 districts. Czechoslovakia's economic-geography is sharply divided by the contrast between the Czech and Slovak regions. The Czech region is dominated by industrial areas interspersed with rich agricultural farmland. The main areas are the Ostrava, Liberec-Hradec, and Krusne Mountains' subregions, the Prague and Moravian subregions, Plzeñ, and the Budejovice-Siblava subregion. These are based on high grade deposits of brown coal and clay and on heavy industry such as heavy machinery, automobiles, locomotives, armaments, and chemical products. The Moravian plains are also known for their rich soils producing grain and livestock with some dairy products. The Slovak areas, by contrast almost exclusively agricultural, are divided into two chief areas: the Danube region of grains, sugarbeets, and livestock with areas of specialized crops and the Eastern Slovak beef-cattle regions with developing hydroelectric industries.

From 1945 to 1989, the economic development of Czechoslovakia had been characterized by five distinct periods. The 1945-46 period was a wave of nationalization and the preparation for planning even though total industrial employment in the state sector was only 57.7% of the total, and private industry still predominated in consumer goods and in domestic and foreign trade. The 1947-48 period was one of reconstruction and a second wave of nationalizations, which made the state industry equal 96.4% of all industry, increased investment to 1/2 of national income, and shifted the industrial structure to heavy industry. The third period was characterized by the first five year plan from 1949 to 1953. Industrial output was increased 57% in order to establish heavy industry as the basis for socialism. Sharp imbalances emerged, however, as a result of the stress of industrialization, the reorganization of agriculture into collectives, and declines in industrial output. The fourth period from 1954-55 was characterized as the "new course" because of its higher priority for light industry and agriculture and limits to autarky. The fifth period from 1956-80s reestablished the priority of industry.

VI. Religion

In the last few years there has been an increase in church attendance in eastern Slovakia, a traditionally religious area. Despite anti-religion policies of the Communist party, Czechoslovak youth showed interest in religion--perhaps because the church was one way to express hostility toward the government. Roman Catholic 77%, Protestant 20%.

VII. Chronology

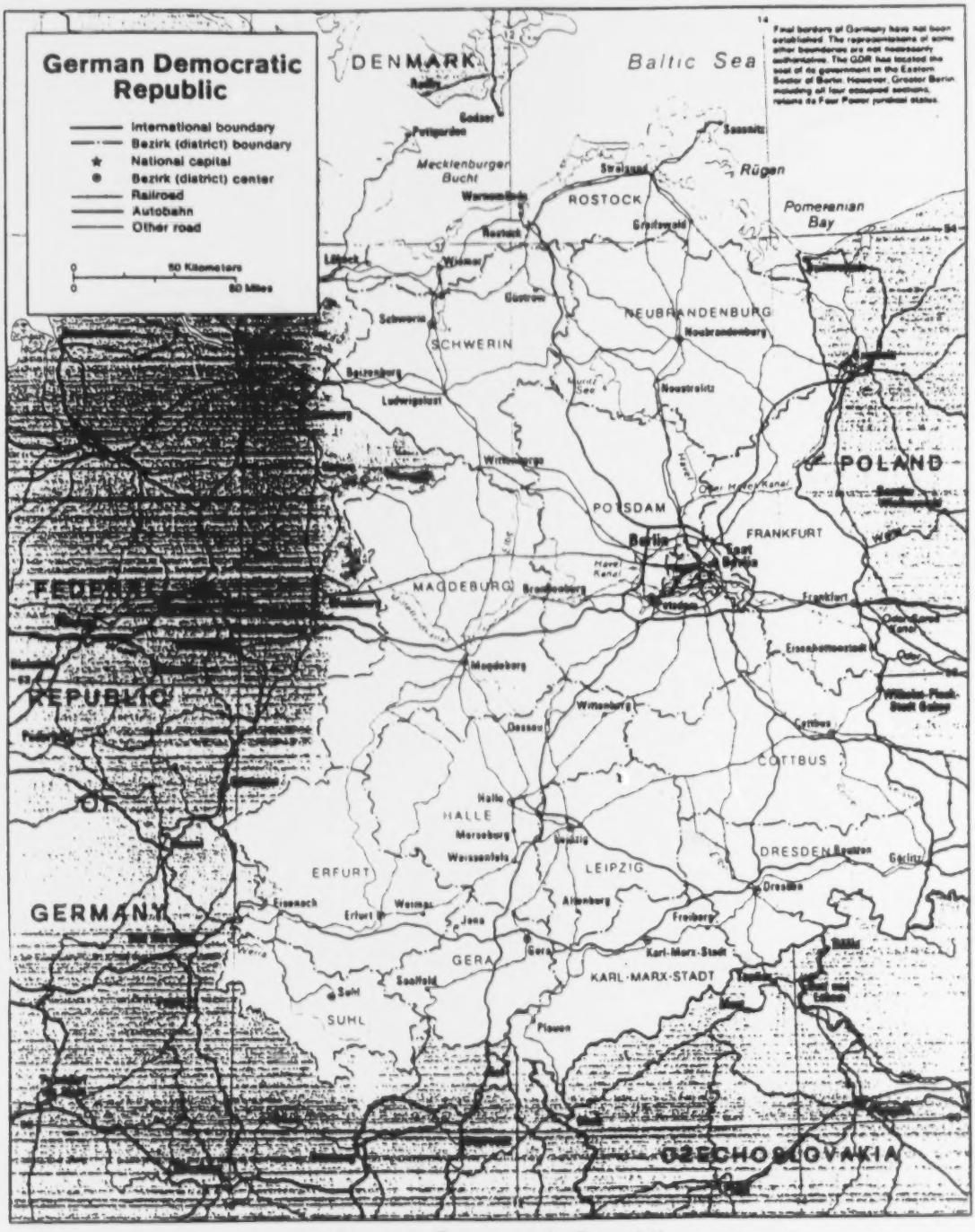
AD 300-600		Slavs settle in Moravia and Bohemia
9th Century		Height of Great Moravian Empire
903 -906		Moravian Empire collapses under German and Magyar attacks; Bohemian Empire emerges
1253-78		Bohemia reaches height under Premysl II
1310		Bohemian throne passes to Luxembourg house
1400-1415		Jan Hus advocates Church reforms; tried and burned at the stake
1419		Defenestration of Prague: Hussite Jan of Zelivor leads procession to town hall and throws counselors out of the window
1415-34		Hussite religious and national movement leads to war between Hussites and Roman Catholic Germans
1526		Lands of Bohemia are independent with a constitution
1618		Czech nobles again revolt against Habsburgs
1620		Czechs are defeated at Battle of White Mountain
19th Century		Social reforms and attempts to Germanize the population create nationalism
1918		Czechoslovak Republic formed
1918-38		State survives politically and economically but pressure from Germany and Hungary on minority issues pose problems
1938		Munich Pact forces surrender of Sudetenland to Germany and First Vienna Award surrenders parts of Slovakia to Hungary
1939	March	Czech lands occupied by Germany, Ruthenia occupied by Hungary; Slovakia becomes an independent state; first Vienna Awards
1945	December	US and Soviet troops evacuate newly liberated Czechoslovakia
1946	May	Communist Party wins 36% of vote in election; becomes largest party in Czechoslovakia
	August	A new Slovak cabinet is formed with Husak at head
1947	July	Czechoslovak government accepts Marshall Plan; declines two days later due to Soviet pressure
1948	February	Czech ministers resign, Klement Gottwald forms communist dominated cabinet
	March	Nationalization of industry begins
	May	Communist dominated National Front wins election, Beneš resigns
1949	October	Widespread arrests: beginning of purge of "bourgeois elements"
1953	March	Food rationing begins as Gottwald warns of economic problems; Gottwald dies
	September	Reorganization: presidium abolished, ministries merged, new emphasis on production of consumer goods
		Stalinists removed by Novotny for political mistakes

1965	November	13th Party Congress admits serious errors in economic management
1967	June	Writers' congress criticizes regime
	December	Novotny dismissed by Presidium
1968	January	Dubček replaces Novotny as head of party; beginning of Prague Spring--Warsaw Pact expresses concern
	April	Action program advocates political and economic reforms
	June	"Two Thousand Words" statement made by leading intellectual
	August	Warsaw Pact invasion: Dubček reinstated after USSR fails to form a Czech government
	September	Brezhnev Doctrine asserts limited sovereignty and international obligations
	October	USSR-Czech agreement on stationing of troops
1969	January	2000 students protest issuing "Prague Manifesto" condemning Warsaw Pact intervention
		Self-immolation of Prague student Jan Palach as a protest against the Soviet invasion
	March	Gustav Husak replaces Dubček: violent demonstrations result
	May	Resolution bans progressive weeklies asserting "democratic centralism"
	August	Three days of unrest, clashes on anniversary of August 20th Warsaw Pact intervention
1970	June	Dubček expelled from Czechoslovak Communist Party
	December	Centralization measures reduce authority of Czech/Slovak regional governments
1972	July	Trials of 46 Dubček supporters for subversive activity
1973	February	Amnesty for those who fled in 1968
1974	July	Powers of security forces extended overriding civil rights
	August	Works of 300 Czech writers banned from libraries
1977	January	"Charter 77" on non-observance of human rights published and signed by 240 Czechoslovak intellectuals
1979	October	Charter 77 dissidents imprisoned
1986	May	17th Czech Party Congress resists Gorbachev prompting on reforms
	September	"The Jazz Section" arrested as part of a general crackdown on intellectuals
1987	January	State-owned companies gain greater autonomy
	February	Criticism of Gorbachev-style reforms
	April	Crowds cheer as Gorbachev goes to Czechoslovakia
	May	Jazz Section members sentenced
	December	Miloš Jakeš replaces Husak
1989	January	Thousands peacefully protest on the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's death amid water cannons, teargas grenades, and police dogs; playwright Václav Havel is among eight activists arrested for attempting to lay flowers at the spot where Palach committed suicid
	February	Václav Havel nominated for Nobel Peace Prize by the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Havel sentenced to 9 months in prison
	April	Charter 77 signatory Stanislav Devaty released from custody after a one month hunger strike and protests by the West German Helsinki Human Rights Committee
	May	Havel released from prison after serving half of term

	Despite Czechoslovak objections, an interview with Alexander Dubček is shown on Hungarian television
June	Problems with lighting and microphones develop as folk singer Joan Baez invites a banned singer to join in her concert in Bratislava
July	Over 200,000 Catholics participate in an annual pilgrimage to Levoča in Eastern Slovakia
August	Václav Havel arrested and held for eleven hours
	The homes of four Slovak human rights activist, Jan Carnogursky, Miroslav Kusy, Hana Ponicka, and Anton Selecky, are searched; two activists are detained
	Between 2000 and 10,000 people demonstrated in Prague on the anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion. 370 people are arrested after police broke up the march
September	East Germans en masse begin to take refuge in the West German embassy in Prague
October	Havel is detained by police but then taken to the hospital with a serious respiratory condition
November 1	Havel is sent home from hospital
November 12	Jakeš tells a Communist youth conference that the party will not tolerate street protests or relax control of the country
November 17	An authorized rally in Prague to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of student Jan Opletal who was killed by the Nazis turns into a pro-democracy anti-government demonstration by 50,000 demonstrators in the largest anti-government rally since 1968. The protest is halted by police force. According to official sources, 17 people were injured and 143 arrested
November 18	Students and actors call for one-week boycott of theatre performances and university classes along with a two-hour general strike on November 27 to protest police brutality on Nov. 17
November 19	20,000 people demonstrate demanding the resignation of Jakes and protesting the death of a student, Martin Smid, in the 17th demonstration; opposition groups coalesce into the Civic Forum (Občanské forum) and demand the resignation of Communist leaders
November 24	Jakeš resigns and is replaced by Karl Urbanek; Alexander Dubček returns to Prague and addresses the crowds
November 27	Millions of Czechs and Slovaks walk off of their jobs and into the street at noon, bringing the country to a standstill
November 29	Parliament promises the opposition to strip the constitution of language that gives the Communist Party a dominant role in society
December 1	New Communist Party Politburo states that the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia was wrong. President Gorbachev acknowledges that the Czechoslovak liberalization movement in 1968 was a result of a yearning for democracy
December 3	New Cabinet including non-Communists is rejected by the opposition
December 7	Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec resigns and is replaced by his deputy Marian Calfa
December 10	President Gustav Husak resigns after swearing in the first cabinet in 41 years without a Communist majority
December 28	Alexander Dubček is elected chairman of the Parliament
December 29	Václav Havel, playwright and opposition leader, is elected President by Parliament
1990	
January 1	Havel declares general amnesty for about 20,000 political prisoners
January 2	Havel visits East and West Germanies
January 16	A ceremony commemorating the death of Jan Palach is held; 10,000 attend; first round of talks end for Soviet troop pull-out
January 18	Prime Minister Marian Calfa terminates membership in Communist Party
January 24	Havel visits Poland and Hungary
February 20	Havel meets with President Bush in Washington

February 21	Havel addresses US Congress; asks US to help Soviet Union on the road to democracy
February 26	Havel meets with President Gorbachev in Moscow; troop withdrawal agreement signed which calls for Soviet troop pull-out of Czechoslovakia by June 1991
March 19	Havel visits France and Great Britain
	Debates continue between Czechs and Slovaks on new name of republic; the only thing agreed upon is dropping the word "Socialist"
June 8	Parliamentary elections to be held

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC



German Democratic Republic

Area: 41,770 sq. miles
Population: 15.5 million
Capital: East Berlin
Language: German
Religion: Protestant, Roman Catholic
Unit of Currency: East Deutschmark

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. History

The area the GDR today is part of the former German empire (Third Reich) of 1937. It was formed from the Soviet zone of occupation as determined by the Allied powers in 1945. The history of Germany before 1945 will not be discussed here, but it is important to consider when discussing the GDR.

II. The GDR Today

During the past year the GDR has been in a state of political and economic turmoil not experienced since the late 1940's. The portentous and surprisingly rapid developments since the summer of 1989 make it imperative that students and instructors alike understand what the GDR was and is now. The events in the German region over the next few years will alter the economic, military and political face of Europe. In these changes, **both** German states will play crucial roles.

With the apparently inevitable unification of the two Germanys, it is important not to assume that the German Democratic Republic will lose the identity it has acquired in forty years of existence. The importance of this period in modern German history will (and should) continue to play an important role in courses about Germany and Central and Eastern Europe. In spite of major failures on the economic and political fronts, the GDR accomplished much in the cultural sphere and introduced democratic social reforms, some of which worked better than others. Western observers could gain many insights from serious study of the country's social projects, and its overall achievements and mistakes.

Not everyone in the GDR is enthusiastic about unification. Some people dislike the Western consumer orientation, and some are anxious about increased crime, drug use, and unemployment. Others fear their country will become a poor, exploited backwater of the Federal Republic; they resist losing what gains they have made and resent being "swallowed up" by a rich, powerful relative. Among some of the political opposition and intellectuals, there has been a discernable commitment to the idea of a democratic socialism which does not embrace all facets of capitalism.

The GDR has been able to boast of outstanding international achievements in the areas of sports and culture. The rigorous, long-term training of youths chosen as potential winning athletes has resulted in a relatively high rate of success in the Olympics and other competitions. The GDR has produced some of the most highly respected artists in all areas of postwar culture in the German-speaking regions. Although some writers have been mere puppets of the State, most have conducted cautious but effective resistance to the regime. However, their main achievement was not their oppositional stance, but rather their international role as cultural leaders.

A very creative subculture exists in the GDR, as seen in the ability to repair almost anything and build things from practically nothing. This ability (organizieren) has developed because of the inavailability of supplies or repair services. It functions through a system of connections, (Beziehungen) which are an important part of the social system in the GDR. The population has always been multi-faceted in terms of politics, religion, and personal goals and preferences.

III. Considerations When Teaching the GDR

This section consists of topics and questions which should be dealt with when one teaches about the GDR.

1> The question of GDR identity and the relation of the two Germanys.

1. Explain and discuss the "German question": how Germans have perceived their nationhood and how they have attempted to define and create "Germany." Discuss the continuation of this process today.

2. Explain the GDR's difficulties in self-definition, and how they are compounded by the existence of another German state.

3. Discuss how the terms "state" and "nation" have changed, and have been changed in the context of the GDR. One can also include a discussion of the GDR's efforts to redefine "nation" and "nationality" in socialist terms, and to replace "German" as an adjective with "GDR" or "socialist" (e.g. "socialist nation", "socialist fatherland").

4. Explain the importance of the German division; specifically what the two Germanys meant to each other; what they had to prove to each other; how they functioned as mirrors of each other, as objects of intense study and targets of opposition.

5. Discuss the development of two contrasting states, taking into account the GDR's linguistic, cultural and historic ties to the FRG, the continuation of familial connections, the penetration of West German television and its images, the difficulties of a government imposed from outside, and the vastly different socio-economic and political systems in the two countries.

6. Discuss the idea of the GDR as a "poor cousin" of the FRG--a perception which exists in both countries--and also point out the elements on both sides which nurture this image and the GDR's inferiority complex. This should be carried out without resorting to Cold War stereotypes and prejudices.

7. Point out the GDR's struggle for international recognition and its efforts to achieve status as a separate state, and show how this has been interrelated with national identity.

8. Discuss the GDR's complex relationship with the recent German past--its attempts to draw on some elements and ignore others, its reasoning as to why the GDR exists and what the GDR and FRG signify in the postwar period.

2> Place the GDR in an international context.

1. Indicate the role of the superpowers in controlling and deciding German affairs, and in creating security and stability in the German area.

2. Discuss the mutual influences and relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union in different contexts, and compare and contrast this with U.S.-FRG relations.

3. Discuss the idea of Berlin and the two Germanys as microcosms of the superpower conflict and the postwar era.

4. Discuss Berlin, its status, and the Berlin Wall. One should also clarify the events of the Wall's construction and recent demolition in both their political and cultural sense. The Wall meant that GDR citizens were forced to deal with the State in some way, an idea closely tied to the identity of both.

5. Discuss the GDR in relation to emerging Third World countries, to its former Communist neighbors and, especially now, to Europe as a whole.

3> Emphasize the specific characteristics of the GDR.

1. Differentiate carefully between Marxism, Marxism-Leninism, Stalinism, and socialism (and communism) when discussing the GDR and Eastern Europe.

2. Be aware of the use of terms such as Germany, FRG, GDR, West Germany, East Germany, Federal Republic, German Democratic Republic and equivalent terms in the German language, with respect to their various meanings, weights, and values in any discussion.

3. Distinguish between the people and the government (das Volk und die Führung). The vast majority of the people had little influence in deciding matters of the economy, culture, education, press, or the working world, nor did they necessarily support the decisions made by authorities higher up.

4. Incorporate elements of social, cultural, historical, economic and political events and ideas to give a better picture of the GDR and a better understanding of its significance.

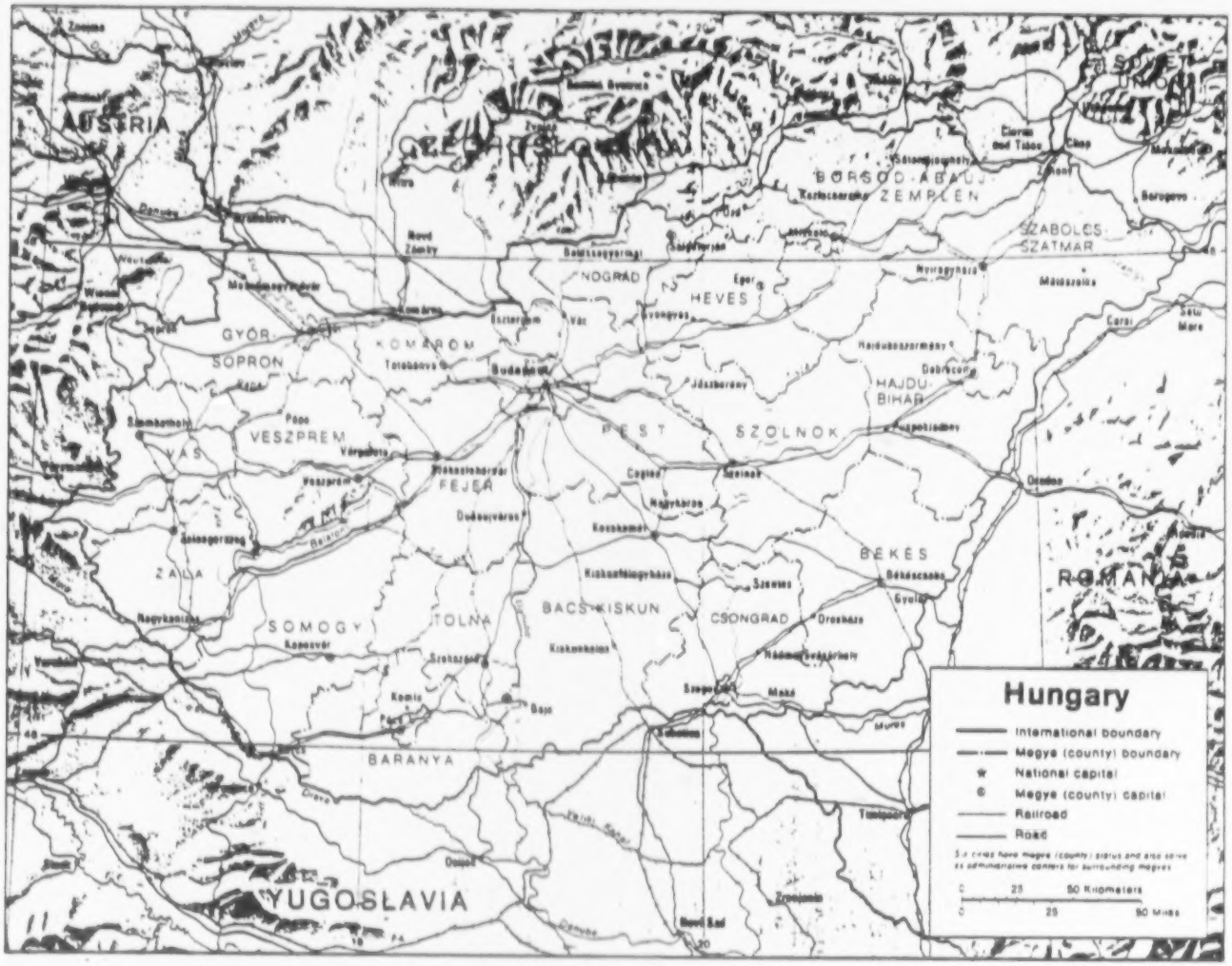
IV. CHRONOLOGY

1945	May	World War II ends for Germany. Germany capitulates and is occupied by British, American and Soviet forces. Berlin is likewise divided into zones.
	July	Allied powers meet in Potsdam and make official the division of Germany into four zones of influence. Further efforts at cooperation fail.
1946	May	In the Soviet zone (SBZ) the socialist (SPD) and communist (KPD) parties are forcibly united under communist leadership, forming the Socialist Unity Party (SED). The SED assumes the "leading role in society" and a monopoly on power.
1947-48		Creation of two new "block parties" in addition to the Christian Democrats (CDU) and the Liberal Democrats (LDPD). These new parties, the National Democrats (NDPD) and the Democratic Farmers' Party (DBD), together with mass organizations of artists, women (DFD) and youth groups (FDJ) serve to bring various societal groups under SED control.
1948	June 16	A currency reform in the three Western zones leads to a further division of the economic system.
	June 24	The blockade of West Berlin by the Soviet Union begins, and continues well into 1949. The Cold War and international tensions increase.
1949	October 7	Establishment of the GDR state in the territory of the former Soviet Zone of Occupation, following the creation of the West German state in September. Walter Ulbricht, General Secretary of the SED; Otto Grotewohl, Minister-President
1950-52		The GDR adopts a Soviet-style system of government. The National Front is formed to coerce rival parties into an alliance with the SED; opposition is virtually eliminated, but the appearance of free multi-party elections remains. A socialistic economy is introduced 1) state ownership of production and property, 2) land collectivization and centrally planned economy, 3) state control of social institutions (education, the media, the arts). The former provinces (Länder) are dissolved and new "districts" (Bezirke) are created; East Berlin is incorporated into the GDR as its capital.
1953	June 17	Uprising and general strikes across the GDR resulting from dissatisfaction with the slow development of the economy increased factory quotas. Crushed immediately by Soviet military force.
1955-56		The GDR joins the Warsaw Pact, forms the National People's Army (NVA) in response to West German rearmament and the Federal Republic's entry into NATO.
1961	August 13	Construction of the Berlin Wall by the GDR, final route of escape closed after some 3 million had fled (since 1949). The Wall was a response to the damaging loss of citizens to the West; a drain of workers and intellectuals. Beginning of the stabilization of the GDR state, economy and government. Cultural identity begins to emerge.
1968		Constitutional reform deemphasizes the idea of "one" Germany.
	August 21	The GDR participates in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.
1968-70		Under Ulbricht's leadership, the GDR is resistant to the Ostpolitik of the Brandt government in the FRG. (Efforts to normalize relations with Eastern Europe and the GDR).
1971		Under Soviet pressure, Walter Ulbricht is removed and replaced by Erich Honecker.

1972		Continued Ostpolitik results in the signing of the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG. This 1) established diplomatic contacts, 2) eased travel and trade restrictions, and 3) represented an informal recognition of GDR status.
1973		Honecker pursues a policy of emphasizing differences and separateness between the two Germanys (Abgrenzung). Both German states are admitted separately to the United Nations.
1974		A second constitutional reform replaces all remaining references to "Germany" with the idea of the "socialist nation of the GDR."
1974-1985		Two separate German Olympic teams compete (1976). In spite of its increasing stagnation, the GDR develops the most effective economic system in the Eastern bloc. Repressive cultural policies lead to the exile of Wolf Biermann in 1974 and of other leading GDR artists in 1977.
early 1980s		The unofficial peace movement emerges in the GDR as a leading form of opposition, closely aided by the churches.
1986		Gorbachev visits the GDR for the first time. The GDR government remains generally resistant to his reform ideas.
1987		Isolated incidents of opposition to the SED increase among the population as reforms spread in Eastern Europe: 1) youths clash with police in East Berlin while attempting to hear an outdoor concert from West Berlin, 2) unofficial demonstrators disrupt a state observation of Rosa Luxembourg's birthday to push for more personal freedoms, 3) increased evidence of right-wing extremism and other forms of diversity. The 750th anniversary of Berlin is marked by separate celebrations in West and East Berlin.
1988		Easing of censorship restrictions, but some reformist literature and periodicals from the Soviet Union were banned. The new reformist USSR as a model for GDR development is openly and more firmly rejected. The GDR economy declines noticeably.
1989	May	Hungary opens its border with Austria, providing an outlet through the Iron Curtain for East Germans.
	summer	After a brief period of caution, GDR citizens begin a mass exodus through Hungary to the West. FRG embassies in Budapest, Prague, Warsaw and East Berlin are occupied by refugees. The situation continues to worsen; the GDR prevents travel to neighboring East bloc countries; tens of thousands leaving. The GDR agrees to let embassy refugees leave on trains to the West
	September	Mass demonstrations in Leipzig, Berlin, Dresden and other cities continue from the summer and grow in size to hundreds of thousands. The GDR closes the border to Czechoslovakia, only to open it three weeks later.
	October 10	The GDR officially celebrates its 40th anniversary; Gorbachev visits Honecker, demonstrators welcome Gorbachev enthusiatically .
	October 18	In the face of a continued flight of GDR citizens and a severe decline in the economy, Erich Honecker is "relieved of all responsibilities."
	October 20	The entire GDR Politburo resigns, but interim leadership remains in the hands of the SED.
	October 24	Egon Krenz is chosen to lead the SED. New opposition parties emerge:

		New Forum (Neues Forum), Democratic Awakening (Demokratischer Aufbruch), Social Democratic Party (SDP), Greens and many other small groupings.
	November 9	The Berlin Wall is "opened" - all travel restrictions removed for GDR citizens. Ecstatic celebrations at the Wall.
	November 13	Hans Modrow (mayor of Dresden, SED) named President of the parliament (Volkskammer)
	December 6	Egon Krenz resigns; two days later Gregor Gysi, a lawyer, is chosen to head the SED. Real power shifted to Modrow as head of state.
	December 12	The SED calls a special party congress; Central Committee meets to decide its future. SED changes name to Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS).
	December 22-24	Brandenburg Gate opened; dismantling of the Wall begins. Travel restrictions dropped for West Germans into the GDR. West German Chancellor Kohl meets Modrow. Kohl later states his 10-point plan for German unification. The SED attempts to restructure the government and salvage the party.
1990	January	The SED-PDS abandons its "leading role" and monopoly on power. The Stasi, the secret police force, are officially disbanded. Free elections called for May 6, 1990. Up to 1 million citizens have left the GDR since May of 1989. Roundtable talks on possible coalitions with new opposition parties. Departures to the West continue at the rate of 2,000 people per day, straining the economy and social structure of both East and West Germany. Unification becomes a much-discussed topic in both Germanys, as well as among the former Allied Powers, who meet in Ottawa to delineate a "two-plus-four" plan which will allow the Germanys to organize their unification first, then propose it to the Allies. Poland remains concerned about its western borders, fearing a new German attempt to retake territory. West German plans for a currency reform discussed. Elections moved up six weeks to help stabilize the situation.
	March 18	First open, democratic elections in the GDR bring a resounding victory for the center-right Alliance for Germany, a coalition supported by the West German Christian Democrats (CDU). The vote indicates a fear of further difficulties and a desire for rapid unification and economic reform.
	April	Despite numerous scandals about the former secret police/informant activities of a number of top members of the new government, the head of the East German CDU and new Prime Minister Lothar de Maziere forms a cabinet which includes some of the opposition Social Democrats (SDP) but no PDS members. West German banks recommend an exchange of GDR money at a 2:1 rate, angering most East Germans.

HUNGARY



Hungary

Area: 93,030 sq km (35,921 sq miles)
Population: 10.85 million
Capital: Budapest (2.093 million)
Official Language: Magyar
Religion: Roman Catholicism (50%), Protestantism
Unit of Currency: Forint
Per Capita GNP: US$3850

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. Alphabet and Language

Hungarian, or Magyar, is an Ugric language of the Uralic language family, and thus completely unrelated to the neighboring Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages, all of which are Indo-European. Distantly related to Finnish, Estonian, and languages spoken in Western Siberia, Hungarian is marked by vowel and consonant length, as well as an elaborate system of vowel harmony.

II. Geography

The Hungarians, or Magyars, occupy the Hungarian Plain, a large, flat, agriculturally productive region through which flows the Danube river. Surrounding the Hungarian Plain is Germanic Austria to the west, the Slavic countries of Czechoslovakia to the north and Yugoslavia to the south, and the Romance-speaking Romanians to the east. Hungary's geographical location also brought the country in close proximity to the Turkish influence of the Ottoman Empire. Hungary's minority populations include Slovaks, Gypsies, and Jews, and there remain large numbers of ethnic Hungarians beyond the present borders, especially in Transylvania in Romania, and in the Vojvodina region of Yugoslavia.

III. History

Origins and Pre-Habsburg Hungary: The Hungarians are an Ugric people whose ancient homeland is believed to lie near the Ural mountains in the Soviet Union. Around the beginning of the Christian era, a loose conglomeration of tribes began a series of migrations that took them across the Russian steppes to the Danube basin that they now call home. After their arrival in 896, the Hungarians ravaged Europe for nearly one hundred years before they were converted to Christianity and settled down in the Danube basin. They developed a large empire on the Great Hungarian Plain which lasted until 1526 when their empire was overwhelmed by the Turks at the Battle of Mohacs. Hungary was then divided into three parts: Turkish occupied Hungary, the semi-autonomous state of Transylvania, and Royal Hungary ruled by the Austrian House of Habsburgs.

Habsburg Hungary: Austrian rule helped provide the Hungarians with protection against the Ottoman Turks. The 1848 revolution led by Lajos Kossuth was put down by the Austrians with significant Russian assistance. In 1867 Vienna agreed to the Ausgleich which created the Austro-Hungarian Empire, thus giving the Hungarians a great measure of autonomy within the joint empire. Chauvinistic Hungarian policies demanding that the people learn and speak the Hungarian language caused increasing difficulties because the empire consisted of more national minorities than ethnic Hungarians. This tension was especially evident in Transylvania and in Slovakia with their well-established and cohesive ethnic populations.

Interwar Hungary: The end of the First World War led to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Treaty of Trianon which divided into new nations those parts of historical Hungary that were populated predominantly by other nationalities: Transylvania in the east went to Romania, the Slovak regions of the north to Czechoslovakia, and the Croatian regions of the south to Yugoslavia. In 1919 Bela Kun led a communist revolution in Hungary and established his short-lived regime. Kun's repressive measures which alienated each social class, plus an unexpected lack of support from the war-torn Soviet Union led to the fall of this communist regime in the same year. A government headed by the conservative, revisionist Admiral Miklos Horthy came to power and ruled Hungary for twenty years. This period was noted by a continuation of the semi-

feudal Hungarian social structure and a strong revisionist drive to regain the traditional Hungarian lands which were lost by the Treaty of Trianon.

Communist Hungary: Although Hungary regained these lands during World War II by siding with the Germans, it again lost them with the Communist takeover in 1945. Early Communist rule was dominated by party leader Matyas Rakosi, who gained almost unlimited power in the purge of "Titoists" following Tito's split from the Soviet bloc. Thus Rakosi managed to eliminate his main political rival, Laszlo Rajk, as well as other groups such as the veterans of 1919, indigenous Communist partisans, and left-wing socialists. Rakosi's rule emphasized official Marxist-Leninist doctrine, including Soviet models such as a centrally-planned economy. The death of Stalin in 1953 led to the downfall of Rakosi as the new Soviet leaders berated the Hungarian for his personality cult and mismanagement of the economy.

Hungary in 1956: Imre Nagy, an agricultural expert who opposed collectivization, took over the party in 1953, but was prevented from implementing his policies emphasizing consumption and welfare needs because of bitter intraparty struggles with Rakosi and his followers. This conflict developed into public debates within the framework of the so-called "Petofi Circle." In October 1956 student demonstrations erupted into armed clashes forcing the reinstatement of Nagy and massive reforms, including a pluralistic democratic system, a mixed economy, aid to individual farmers, the elimination of police terror, and the withdrawal of the country from the Warsaw Pact. This resulted in the infamous Soviet invasion that crushed the revolution with little reaction from the Western world. The Soviets restored order to the country and oversaw the revitalization of the communist party under the leadership of Janos Kadar.

Hungary since 1956: Kadar was to rule Hungary for more than thirty years. He resorted initially to totalitarian methods in order to repress a nationwide workers' strike. Policies changed at the 1962 Eighth Party Congress which emphasized the decentralization of some authority, the emergence of group interests, the elimination of class discrimination in higher education, and amnesty for political prisoners. These reforms were furthered by the implementation of the New Economic Mechanism (NEW) in 1968 which introduced elements of a market economy, market pricing, and decentralized planning emphasizing managerial expertise. Concern over the erosion of the preeminence of the party as well as problems with investments, trade, income ratios, and ideology caused the slowing of NEM in the 1970s.

But by 1978 continued economic difficulties had forced the party to reemphasize NEM and stress managerial efficiency, technical modernization, and the reduction of subsidies and prices. This culminated in a series of reforms in banking, private associations, and other economic entities in the early 1980s. Opposition of Kadar and his followers to more drastic reforms forced the growing managerial and intellectual contingent of the party to overthrow him, and Karoly Grosz was elected to lead the party in 1988.

Hungary under the leadership of Karoly Grosz has experienced momentous political changes in almost every area of political and economic life, and has moved closer to achieving democracy and freedom for its population. These changes will be covered in greater detail in the next section.

IV. Government and Politics

Traditional Post-War Structure: Until the late 1980s Hungary's political structure was very similar to those of the other communist states of East Central and Southeastern Europe, i.e. the foundation of the political system was the communist party, known in Hungary as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). Following the 1956 Revolution the main party organs, namely the Central Committee, Politburo, and Secretariat, were filled with Kadar allies, while simultaneously the lower ranks of the party became dominated by functionaries and technocrats. The party was divided into territorial units at the county, district, and village levels. The basic organizations in the armed forces, frontier guards, internal police, and the railroad system were directly subordinate to the Central Committee. The core of power, however, remained the Politburo.

The government, like that of the other states of East Central and Southeastern Europe, was traditionally entrusted merely to implement the decisions of the Politburo. The National Assembly served as the highest organ of state authority and was endowed with supreme legislative power. Its importance was diminished because it met only a few times a year for short periods of time. The National Assembly elected the Presidential Council which acted as a collective presidency covering the legislative, executive, and judicial spheres of government. The most important government organ remains the Council of Ministers. Local government is organized on three levels composed of representative organs, local councils, and their executive committees entrusted with administration. The party, however, traditionally maintained control of all these elements of the government.

Recent Reforms: Significant changes have taken place in Hungarian government and politics since 1985 when it was made mandatory to have two or more candidates for parliamentary and local elections. These elections overturned a small percentage of the representatives and made parliamentary debate and the possibility of real power residing in the National Assembly a conceivable goal for Hungarian reformers.

Following the ouster of Janos Kadar and his leadership in May 1988, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) was forced to move increasingly faster to counter the pressure of both the deteriorating economic situation and the independent political and social forces that had been organizing and rallying support for democratic reforms. The HSWP managed to hold onto its grip on power until late 1989 under the leadership of conservative Secretary-General Karoly Grosz and reformists Imre Poszgay, Reszo Nyers, Miklos Nemeth, and Gyula Horn. Displeasure with the painstakingly slow and conservative reforms within the political and economic systems led to the tumultuous October 1989 HSWP congress. The intra-party clash between advocates of radical and of moderate reform ended with a vote putting an end to the HSWP and creating the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) in its place. The HSP set itself the task of revitalizing the Hungarian political left in preparation for the parliamentary elections in March and April 1990. These were Hungary's first democratic national elections in forty-five years.

Other political groups in Hungary became active, organizing and drafting alternative programs of their own. The result was a proliferation of political parties, groups, and movements, all battling for the votes of the Hungarian population in the 1990 elections. Although approximately fifty parties were officially registered, ten parties emerged as the most powerful due to their organizational abilities and larger populations bases. These major parties include the Alliance of Young Democrats, Alliance of Free Democrats, Christian Democratic People's Party, Hungarian Democratic Forum, Hungarian People's Party, Hungarian Socialist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Hungarian Social

Democratic Party, Independent Smallholders' Party, and the National Smallholders' Party. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, led by Joszef Antall, emerged as the clear winner in the 1990 elections, receiving 165 of the 386 seats in the National Assembly. This party's program includes free and democratic elections, the separation of party and state, establishment of a multi-party system, and a growing role for the Church within Hungarian society. The Alliance of Free Democrats came in second, winning 92 seats. This party, with its strongest support in Budapest, favors a neutral Hungary, withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, and membership in the European Economic Community. A coalition between the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats seems likely. Such a coalition would constitute a formidable political power in present-day Hungary, as it would unite the Forum's populist, nationalist, and Christian values with the Alliance that extols the virtues of liberal capitalism and bourgeois radicalism.

Joszef Antall, expected to become the next Prime Minister, has been extremely outspoken on the plight of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania. His determination in this area is likely to worsen the already strained relations between Hungary and Romania. Antall also favors a continued American presence in Europe to balance a united Germany and an unstable Soviet Union.

Foreign Policy: Hungary has also become increasingly open to the West and has received support from Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev. The most visible signs of a new orientation in foreign policy have been the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel, South Korea, and the Vatican; the introduction of liberalized travel and emigration policies; the removal of barbed wire and other obstacles from the Hungarian-Austrian border; the invitation to US President George Bush to visit Hungary in July, 1989; and visits of the South Korean President and the West German Chancellor to Hungary in late 1989. Concurrent with Hungary's aims of becoming a neutral nation while remaining in the Warsaw Pact, the country has reduced its armed forces and established a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory by the end of 1990. Hungary's progressive policies have caused difficulties with the other Warsaw Pact nations, especially with Czechoslovakia over the controversial Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project, and with Romania over the treatment of ethnic Hungarians in that country.

V. Economy

Traditional Post-War Structure: The economy in the late 1940s and early 1950s was based on the Soviet model of the centrally-planned economy which emphasized the intensive development of heavy industry and the collectivization of agriculture. Problems quickly emerged because all raw materials had to be imported, an influx of workers to the cities created housing shortages, and the collectivization policies failed to increase productivity.

Reform of this system began as early as 1957 when the collectivization of agriculture was actually completed. More democracy was promoted within the collectives and private plots were not only protected, but promoted. The New Economic Mechanism (NEM) introduced in 1968 specified that the central plan was to be used only in relation to national economic factors such as national income, domestic consumption, industrial and agricultural production, construction, and real incomes, while individual enterprises were to remain somewhat free from central control. Major price reforms, a significant concern of NEM, decreed that fifty percent of all prices were to be determined by western-style market forces.

NEM was to suffer, however, because of a powerful campaign to coordinate the economies of East Central and Southeastern Europe by the Soviet Union, coupled with widespread concern that the regime might forsake the working class. Wage increases were approved for many low paid workers, the largest enterprise corporations were placed directly under Central Committee control, and the leader of NEM, Rezso Nyers, was demoted.

Various debt crises and a declining growth rate forced the leadership to again implement reforms in 1978. These included a price reform extending the 1968 NEM reforms to break up large monopolies, thus encouraging competition; merge branch ministries; legalize "second economy" activities such as economic work communities that allowed small groups of workers to set up private business in state factories in their spare time. This perhaps was epitomized by the success of Hungarian agriculture which was producing yields only slightly below those of Western countries. More recent reforms of the early 1980s promoted the free flow of capital throughout the system by establishing a bond market through which local companies could raise capital, and a new banking system which has allowed competition for deposits and loans.

Like the other states of East Central and Southeastern Europe, Hungary experienced a deep and significant economic crisis in the mid- and late-1980s. By 1989 the country's gross foreign debt was estimated to be over $20 billion, and in the same year gross domestic product decreased by nearly two percent. The budget deficit reached a record 49.6 billion florint as the Hungarian recession of the late 1980s worsened.

Recent Reforms: While the economic crisis continued and while industrial production failed to register any gains, Hungary remained preoccupied with its own monumental political changes, making little attempt to overhaul the economy and thereby increase industrial output. The political changes of 1989 did not go far enough and did not have sufficient time to produce a political consensus on how to start the long overdue reorganization of the economy. The declining influence of the HSWP and its successor the HSP created a political vacuum in the country's economic sphere. Thus by 1989 the Hungarian economy was run without any comprehensive economic reform program and was managed haphazardly during the critical months.

Restrictions on individual travel were removed and Hungarians took to spending abroad with a vengeance. Thus Hungary lost over $1.5 billion of valuable hard currency to western countries in 1989 alone. In order to entice Hungarians to keep their hard currency within the country, the Finance Ministry announced that citizens could deposit their convertible currency in Hungarians banks with no questions asked regarding the origin of the money. This marks a distinct break with fiscal policies of the past.

Hungary suffered under double-digit inflation during the last two years of the 1980s as the rate reached 17% in 1989. This was fueled by the accumulating domestic debt which reached crippling levels. This led to repeated devaluations of the artificially overvalued Hungarian florint.

Privatization of state enterprises was begun in 1989, thus raising many controversial issues of real estate and inventory valuations which have not yet been resolved. A number of Hungarian firms have entered into joint ventures with their western counterparts, bringing the total number of such ventures to over one thousand. In 1989 these joint ventures attracted over $70 million in capital.

The Hungarian government remains committed to creating a real and not just a simulated market economy, to stimulating rather than hindering private enterprise, to increasing private ownership, and trying to attract both domestic and foreign capital. Since Hungary's resources are heavily depleted, the authorities hope that the West will provide aid and support to the economy as a means of ensuring the success of political reforms.

VI. Religion

Roman Catholic: 67.5%, Calvinist: 20%, Lutheran: 5%, Jewish: 7.5%.

VII. Chronology

896		Hungarian tribes end migrations, settle in Danube basin
1240-42		Mongols devastate Hungary
1301		Hungarian crown passes to foreign rulers as Arpad dynasty dies out
1526-1699		Hungary divided into three parts: Turkish rule, semi-autonomous Transylvania, and Royal Hungary ruled by the Habsburgs
1699		Turks withdraw from Hungary; Habsburg rule begins
1848-49		Movement of internal reform and independence comes to head as Lajos Kossuth proclaims independence but Russian aid helps Habsburgs reestablish rule
1867		Ausgleich--Hungary gains independence from Austria in internal matters; the two will collaborate in defense and foreign affairs
1918		Hungary achieves independence
1919		Brief communist regime of Bela Kun Admiral Miklos Horthy becomes regent of Hungary and rules until 1944
1941		Hungary joins Axis Powers
1945	November	Smallholder government formed after winning National Assembly elections
1946	November	Hungary declared a republic
1947	February	Communist party allegations against Smallholders culminate in arrest of Bela Kovacs
	May	Ferenc Nagy resigns as Hungarian Prime Minister
	August	Elections give leftists a 46% block; Communists dominate National Assembly and key government posts
1949	June	Laszlo Rajk arrested for high treason--beginning of purges
1950		Rightist Social Democrats purged from Communist Party
1951	January	Industrialization, rationing of food, and collectivization continue
	May	Janos Kadar arrested
1952	August	Matyas Rakosi elected prime minister
1952	July	Imre Nagy becomes Prime minister; Rakosi still party head; collectivization abandoned
1955	March	Nagy purged from party; Andras Hegedus appointed prime minister
1956	February	Rajk rehabilitated
	July	Rakosi dismissed; replaced by Erno Gero, a Stalinist
	October	Nagy becomes prime minister, Gero replaced by Kadar, withdrawal from Warsaw Pact
	November	Soviets invade Hungary; Nagy replaced by Kadar
1957	January	Kadar announces hardline conservative policies--strikes
	May	Soviet-Hungarian agreement on stationing of troops
1958	June	Nagy executed

1963	March	Amnesty releases all political prisoners
1964	September	Roman Catholic hierarchy established with accord with church
1966	February	Conspiracy against regime by "people associated with 1956"
	November	New electorial law allows more than one candidate
1968	January	NEM announced
1972	March	Students march in Budapest to commemorate 1848
1974		Economic reform slowed
1978	January	US returns crown of St. Stephan to Hungary
1986	November	Government quietly marks 30th anniversary of 1956
1987	March	1500 people march for liberalization in Budapest
	September	Parliament approves harsh austerity measures and personal income/value added tax
1989	January	Formation of opposition political parties is legalized
	February	Hungary joins Geneva Convention
	March	Soviet troop withdrawal begins
	May	Hungarian Communist Youth League (KISZ) dissolves itself and forms the Hungarian Democratic Youth Organization (DEMISZ)
		Constitution amended to include a parliamentary vote of no confidence
		Construction on controversial and expensive Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project suspended
	June	Former Party leader Imre Nagy ceremonially reburied in Budapest
	July	Former Party leader Janos Kadar dies of natural causes
		Former Party leader Imre Nagy and his associates declared officially rehabilitated
	August	Large numbers of East Germans flee to West through Hungary
	September	US grants Hungary most-favored-nation status
		Hungarian Democratic Forum emerges as leading opposition group
	October	Parliament amends Constitution to create legal framework for multi-party system
		Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) dissolves itself and forms Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)
		National Assembly condemns 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in which Hungary participated
	November	Prime Minister Nemeth predicts Hungary's foreign debt for 1989 to exceed $20 billion
1990	January	Japan announces $500 million credit arrangement, thus becoming Hungary's largest Western creditor
	February	Diplomatic relations with the Vatican established
	March	Parliamentary elections, first round
	April	Parliamentary elections, second round; Hungarian Democratic Forum wins 165 seats in National Assembly; Joszef Antall expected to become Prime Minister

POLAND

Poland

Area: 312,677 km (120,732 sq. miles)
Population: 36.3 million
Capital: Warsaw (1.572 million)
Official Language: Polish
Religion: Roman Catholicism (93%)
Unit of Currency: Zloty
Per Capita GNP: US$3830

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Polish spelling is largely phonetic. Some letter clusters correspond to one sound. The letters b, d, f, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, and z are pronounced as in English. The others are as follows: a (**cut**), a (nasal o, as in the French **on**), c (**rats**, c and ci (soft **ch**), ch and h (**half**), cz (**ch**urch), dz (**cards**), dź and dzi (bu**dget**), dz (**j**ump), e (**red**) , e (nasal e as in French **vin**), g (**g**et), i (machine), j (**y**oung), l (**w**indow), n and ni (**on**ion), o (**pot**), ó (**roof**), r (clearly trilled), rz (pleasure), s and si (soft **sh**), sz (**sh**op), u (**coop**), w (**v**ine), y (**r**ich), ż (gendarme), z and zi (soft **s**).

II. Geography

The name "Polska" Poland comes from the Polish root "Pole" which means field or plain. While Poland has expanded and diminished its territory over the past 1000 years, the central part of Poland bordered by the Oder river to the west and the Pripet marshes to the east is flat, originally a forested plain. To the south, Poland is bordered by the Carpathian mountain range. The Vistula river, originating in the Tatra mountains in the southeast flows through Poland to the north and empties into the Baltic Sea at Gdańsk. Because of its flatness, and because it has no "natural frontiers" to the west or to the east, Poland has been a traditional route for invasions and military advances. Poland is rich in mineral resources (coal, copper, salt) in the south, while the central and northern regions are mainly suited for agriculture.

III. History

Early History. In the tenth century the tribes on the Vistula and Oder Rivers united under the Piasts princes, the founders of the modern Polish state. In 966 Mieszko I accepted baptism according to the Latin rites. For several centuries Poland is ruled by Dukes and Princes of the Piast dynasty and the Polish state enjoyed great prosperity as one of the most powerful countries in Europe. The last Piast ruler, King Casimir (Kazimierz) the Great (1333 to 1370) took power in a Poland of wooden architecture, died in a Poland of stone masonry. It was during this period that the Poles dominated the economy of much of Eastern Europe. Casimir left a daughter, Jadwiga who in 1386 married the Lithuanian W∫adys∫aw Jagie∫∫o. Jagie∫∫o became King of Poland and Lithuania upon Jadwiga's death in 1399 thus founding the Jagiellonian Dynasty.

The Polish Lithuanian Union. The Polish-Lithuanian unification that took place under the Jagiellonian dynasty increased the size of the state. The defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald in 1410 was symbolic of the many challenges that would confront Polish domination in the area. By 1466 the Polish-Lithuanian state extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea and to the east nearly to Moscow. This marked the beginning of the Golden Age of Poland that lasted until the 17th century. In the 16th century this Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth developed a unique political system which gave supreme power to the parliament *Sejm* (made up of the gentry class or "szlachta"), limiting the power of the monarchy. However, the individual rights extended to each individual within the nobility was carried to the extreme whereby a single Polish noble who disliked a certain policy could veto any proposed action (*Liberum Veto*).

After the death of the last King of the Jagiellonian Dynasty, Sigismund II (Zygmunt) in 1572, the *Sejm* decided that new kings would be elected. The gradual decline of Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries was chiefly due to changing balances of power, the

development of a new type of powerful nation-state that was in direct contrast to the inability of the Polish nobility to accomplish anything because of the *Liberum Veto*. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Poland lost a vast amount of territory in wars with the Cossaks of the Ukraine, Russia, and Sweden.

The Partitions. These setbacks, and the foreign intervention which the elective monarchy invited, culminated in the three successive partitions of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, beginning in 1772. Neither the attempt in 1791 to introduce a liberal constitution, nor the national insurrection of 1794 led by Thaddeus (Tadeusz) Kościuszko could save Poland from being totally engulfed by its neighbors in 1795. Although Napoleon reestablished a Polish state in 1807, the Congress of Vienna, convened in 1815 after his defeat, again reinstated the partitions. The Poles rebelled unsuccessfully in 1830, and again in 1863. During this period of partition intense nationalism developed. In the Russian and Prussian partitions policies of Russification and Prussification were carried out with brutality. Policies in the area incorporated into the more diverse Austrio-Hungarian Empire were much more liberal. It was in the Austrian partitions that Polish arts continued to flourish.

The Interwar Period. The simultaneous collapse of Germany at the end of WWI and the Russian Revolution created a political vacuum that permitted the allies to establish an independent Poland (one of Wilson's Fourteen Points). Polish victory in the Polish-Soviet War of 1920 and the harshness of the Versailles treaty allowed Poland to set up a huge state that included many minority nationalities. The three areas of Poland had developed at different paces economically, culturally, and politically under different systems for over one hundred years. The chief problem after the war was the economic chaos caused by the unification of these three areas, the effects of the depression, and the inability of the numerous political parties to formulate effective policies. Marshal Józef Piłsudski who had led the 1920 war against the Soviets took power by coup in 1926, and led the country until his death in May 1935.

World War II. On September 1, 1939 Poland was attacked by Germany. As agreed to in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact, the Soviet Union invaded Poland on September 17, 1939. Poland quickly capitulated and was divided into occupied territories. The government and leading military leaders as well as soldiers took exile first in France and later in Great Britain. Many Polish soldiers fought in special regiments with the Allied armies. Poland suffered immensely, more than six million Poles died, including nearly the entire Polish-Jewish population. Resistance operations in Poland were particular active, especially the Home Army which was aligned with the government in exile. Attempts at resistance uprisings against Hitler's forces, first the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April 1943 and then the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 ended in bitter defeat. The latter was especially significant in that the Soviet Red Army waited across the river, refusing assistance, as the Polish Home Army fought to take control of their capital. In effect this destroyed any possible military or political opposition to the Soviets, who had already chosen a group of communists, trained in Moscow, to take control of the country upon liberation from the Nazi occupation. As agreed upon by the Great Powers at Yalta, Poland would be "liberated" by the Soviets and included in their sphere of influence.

1945-1970. Much of Poland had been destroyed during the War (e.g. Warsaw and Gdańsk were 95% destroyed) and rebuilding began. Many Poles who had been active in the Home Army, many of them intellectuals, were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia. The eastern regions of Poland (including the cities of Vilnius in Lithuania and Lwow in the Ukraine) were incorporated into the Soviet Union. In return, Poland's borders shifted westward to the

Oder-Neisse rivers and massive resettlement of population began: Germans of the western regions to Germany, and Poles from the eastern regions to the new western territories.

Boles/aw Bierut was put in place as First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party (PPR) by Stalin to carry out his policies which were to penetrate Polish society and establish control of the country. A centrally planned economy was established. The Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party merged to formed the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP). However, the failure to penetrate the society and the alienation of the working class and intellectuals led to the collapse of the original leadership. After the death of Stalin in 1953, the policies of Stalinization began to come under question. Bierut died in February 1956 in Moscow as Krushchev delivered his "secret speech" at the 20th Party Congress denouncing Stalin. In June 1956 a workers revolt in Poznan sparked a series of events which eventually led to W/adys/aw Gomu/ka, who had previously been imprisoned for being against the Stalinization, taking the leadership of the PUWP. Gomu/ka was committed to a new and democratic form of communism. A considerable degree of personal freedom was allowed, especially for the church. A series of reforms were introduced and the collectivization of agriculture was stopped. However, Gomu/ka ignored those who urged for total economic reform and decentralization and by 1958 he had returned to the old strategy of rapid, forced industrial investment.

In the 1960s, the period of a global "Cold War," Poland remained politically and economically aligned with the Soviet Union. However, by 1968 intellectual and economic stagnation peaked, an anti-semitic campaign led to a revolt of intellectuals in March which received little support from the working class. Gomu/ka attempted to implement economic reforms, but it was clear that he held little power. By 1970 the economy was in total disarray.

The Gierek Years. The dissatisfaction with Gomu/ka culminated in the 1970 workers' riots, when the government announced drastic rises in the cost of food right before Christmas. Most of these riots centered along the Baltic coastline in the cities of Szczecin and Gdansk and resulted in the loss of many lives. These last riots also illustrated the dissatisfaction with Gomu/ka within the regime due to his inability to deal with either the economy or the hardliners. This feeling was palpable mostly in the ranks of the technocratic moderates led by Edward Gierek and the military led by Wojciech Jaruzelski. Thus, Gomu/ka was replaced by Gierek.

Gierek was from Silesia, a coal-mining region. He appealed to the workers asking for help in pulling Poland out of its economic stagnation. The party was to abandon its control over the economy, giving this responsibility to the state apparatus. In 1974, however, the reforms were halted due to Soviet pressure and fear of going too far. Also, the economy was going well, that reform was considered unnecessary. At that point Gierek began to recentralize the running of the economy and weakened the power of middle and lower level bureaucrats. Poland took out massive foreign credits ostensibly to build its economy, but this money was largely squandered to finance large inefficient industrial complexes. Also, a series of high level scandals began to fetter away the prestige of the leadership. The world oil crisis plunged the economy deeper into trouble as the government borrowed exorbitant amounts from the West. In 1976, when Gierek tried to raise food prices, riots broke out in the country. The price increases were rescinded the next day.

Reacting to the beatings that occurred during the riots, a group of intellectuals formed the Workers' Defense Council (KOR). Underground publishing concerns began writing essays and polemics on the inadequacies of the system, as well as historical essays addressing

issues which were not allowed to be taught in state schools. Underground, "flying" universities were formed where students and teachers could discuss issues which were not included in the regular university curriculum. A dialogue between intellectuals and workers began. In October 1978, Polish Cardinal Karol Wojty/a was elected Pope of the Roman Catholic Church. In June 1979 he made a pilgrimage to Poland. When he left, the nation had experienced a renewal, the Pope had sent a message to the Polish people that they were strong enough and mature enough to begin making their own decisions. Any respect for the communist rulers waned.

1980s. In 1980 a series of strikes erupted nationwide, culminating in the August strike at the Gdańsk shipyards, which among other things called for the establishment of a free trade union. Government negotiators eventually gave in to the strikers' demands. The independent trade union, Solidarity, was formed. Divisions within the party caused the fall of Gierek and the election of Stanis/aw Kania as party chief. Throughout 1980-81 attempts at workers gaining self-management of enterprises were made. Workers would make demands and strike, and the government would concede. Solidarity as a Trade Union numbered 10 million members (by contrast the most the PUWP ever had was 3 million). The economy weakened, and the Soviets began to pressure the government to respond to the crisis. In February, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Minister of Defense was named Prime Minister, in October he became First Secretary of the PUWP as well. On December 13, 1981 Jaruzelski announced that Martial Law had been imposed, "in order to avoid civil war"; communication lines were cut, Solidarity activists were interned, borders were closed. Effectively, Solidarity had been eliminated as a trade union. During the two years that Martial Law was officially in place, any political reform that had been gained was quickly reversed as new restrictive laws replaced the reforms. Jaruzelski admitted the need to implement economic reform, but at a slower pace than that which Solidarity activists had advocated. Small private investment was allowed, as was limited foreign investment. Nonetheless, the intellectual freedom of 1980-81 left the population reluctant to blindly follow everything the government dictated. By the mid-1980s the Polish economy was fighting to maintain itself, foreign debts amassed in the 1970s were coming due, and the need for drastic change was clear.

In March 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev was named General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and announced his policies of "glasnost" and "perestroika" (openness and restructuring). Jaruzelski attempted to involve Solidarity supporters in implementing change, forming a Consultative Council including members of Solidarity. Solidarity, working as an underground organization, had been actively educating people on the need for economic and political reforms.

In the fall of 1988, talks began between the government, the Catholic Church, and Solidarity to discuss possible avenues of cooperation. In February-March 1989, a series of Round-Table negotiations took place which mapped out a plan for economic and political reform, beginning with the reinstatement of a bicameral parliament with members to be democratically elected. The elections to the new Polish Senate took place in June 1989 resulting in an overwhelming victory for Solidarity candidates.

1989-1990. Following the June elections it was clear that Poland was enjoying a new-found political freedom. While everyone expected that the free elections would be the beginning of a new era, no one expected that subsequent events would happen as rapidly as they did. The victory of Solidarity candidates in the election resulted in the failure of the PUWP to maintain a coalition and finally, though Solidarity had not planned to take power quite so quickly, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Solidarity candidate, was named Prime Minister in August

1989. The democratic process had begun which led to the abolition of the leading role of the party and to the first non-communist government in an eastern bloc country in over 40 years. It was to be the beginning of a trend. In January 1990 the PUWP held its last party congress--it voted to dissolve itself.

IV. Government and Communist Party

While Poland has obviously undergone a tremendous political change in the past year, it is worthwhile to look at the system as it was in place until 1989 in order to understand some of the challenges its new government faces.

As with most socialist states, the Polish United Workers' Party was insured the leading role in society and the constitution stressed that its mission was to secure and protect the interests of the working class. The party was organized on a five tier system based on territorial (administrative divisions of the country) and functional (place of employment) principles. These elected members to the Party Congress, which simply acted as a rubber stamp for decisions made in the Politburo of the Central Committee. All elections, however, were dominated by the PUWP because candidates were nominated by the "mass organizations of the working party" (i.e. the PUWP).

The government is based on the constitution of the state. It is noticeable that this document lacks the traditional Western Democratic list of rights and duties of citizens. The constitution introduces Soviet institutions, although all practices are not included. Until June 1989, state power was unified in the unicameral Parliament (called the *Sejm*) responsible for the passage of national economic plans and elections to the 15 member Council of State. The government's main function was to direct the national economy through the preparation of national plans and to supervise the functioning of these plans. Local government is based on a four level system: county, province, municipalities, and urban/rural. In June 1989 the parliament was restored to the pre-war bicameral body consisting of the Senate (100 members) and the *Sejm* (450 members). On May 27 1990 local elections are to be held for officials at the local levels.

V. Economy

Repeated attempts to reform the Polish economy have been made since 1945. The initial system of course was nearly identical to the stalinist system described in the general section of this guide. The Gomu*l*ka regime altered agriculture irrevocably as the government refused to collectivize the peasantry because of strident opposition. Relatively little however was done to alter the system until the early seventies. At that time, economic priorities were changed allocating more resources to the production of food and consumer goods, while foreign trade was changed giving more freedom to industrial exporters and importers. Also, the economy was to be decentralized to industrial combinations (WOGS) which were an intermediate level of management between central bureaucracies and the enterprises. Agriculture, however was the area that needed the most attention as food prices were frozen because excess demand made free prices excessively high. By 1975, however, the confusion these reforms caused in the economy forced the government to withdraw the reforms and return to centralized planning.

At the time the government returned to centralized planning, Western credits became available en masse and the government jumped at them. But these credits were wasted on subsidies to maintain unproductive firms, showy projects, and other wasteful endeavors.

These massive credits led the economy into recession and the eventual result was the implementation of a policy of decreased consumption, using anything marketable for export to be exported to pay off the massive foreign debt. The relative prosperity of the early 1970s gave way to extreme stringency in the late 1970s and early 1980s eventually resulting in massive rationing of food, gasoline, and other consumer goods (shoes, furniture, etc). By the time of martial law, the economy had collapsed to an unprecedented extent as standards of hygiene, the water supply, transport, hospitals, and schools were all in serious decline.

Economic reforms which began to be implemented in the late 1980s met were met with skepticism by the population at large. Promised workers' councils were simply not implemented. Poland continued to bide time gaining extensions on the repayments of foreign debts, and allowing direct foreign investment.

With the change in government in 1989 came a whole new economic reform plan. Leszek Balcerowicz was named Minister of Finance and put into action his plan which required the devaluation of the zloty (previously the black market price of the zloty was 10- 15 times that of the official rate) leading eventually to the convertibility of the currency in January 1990. It also called for free-market pricing and an end to government subsidies. Privatization of enterprises was encouraged. These policies led to massive inflation, which seemed to level out by February 1990. Poland has chosen to move towards a free-market economy at break-neck speed--cold turkey. The country has received some foreign aid from West European countries and the United States to help it through this first period of reform. However, the great experiment of changing a centrally planned economy back to a capitalist, market-oriented economy has only begun.

VI. Religion

Post World War II Poland suddenly found itself an ethnically and religiously homogenous society. This of course due to the genocidal policies of Hitler which caused the death of almost the entire Polish-Jewish population, and also due to the shift of borders which left most of the Eastern Orthodox to remain in the territories incorporated into the Soviet Union. Further, the resettlement of protestant Germans from the new Western territories left a primarily Roman Catholic population in Poland: Roman Catholic 95%, Uniate, Greek Orthodox, Protestant and Jewish 5%.

From the end of World War II to the 1960 the activities of the Catholic Church were tempered. Polish Primate Stefan Wyszyński was a particularly adept leader of the Church and able to negotiate many concessions from the government. The Catholic Church, particularly in the late 1970s and 1980s reasserted itself by boldly reminding the Communist authorities in Warsaw that the Church is an ancient Polish institution. The most significant event in the history of the Polish Catholic Church was the election to the papacy in 1978 of Polish born Karol Wojtyla (Pope John Paul II) in October 1978. The Pope has encouraged the Church to resist atheism and Communist efforts in order to deny the party legitimate influence in Polish life. Under the Jaruzelski crackdown the government has attacked the Church for "expanded sponsorship of culture." One of the criticisms of the new government is it invokes religious intonations into secular institutions.

VI. CHRONOLOGY

900-1000		Tribes on Vistula and Oder Rivers united under Piasts, founders of modern Polish state
966		Mieszko I baptized under the Latin rite
1333-1370		Casimir's rule; Poland enjoys great prosperity
1386		Polish-Lithuanian union; Jagiellonian dynasty replaces Piast dynasty
1410		Polish-Lithuanian armies defeat Teutonic Knights at Grunwald
1654-1667		Polish-Lithuanian state embroiled in wars with Sweden and the Cossacks of Russia and Ukraine; much territory is lost
1683		King Jan Sobieski leads the battle to save Vienna from the Turks
1772		First Partition of Poland by Austria, Prussia, and Russia
1791		The Constitution of May 3 is ratified by the Sejm
1793		The Second partition of Poland by Prussia and Russia
1794		Tadeusz Kosciuszko leads an unsuccessful peasant revolt against Russia
1795		Polish state eliminated with the Third Partition
1807		A portion of Poland reestablished as the Congress Kingdom by Napoleon
1815		Congress of Vienna redefines Polish boundaries; Poland placed under Russian rule
1830-1831		The January Uprising ends unsuccessfully
1863		The November Insurrection against Russia is unsuccessful
1914		World War I begins, Poles fight against Poles in Prussian, Austrian, and Russian armies
1918		Collapse of Imperial Germany and Russia allows reestablishment of independent Poland
1919-21		Polish-Soviet War led by Piłsudski ends with Polish victory
1926		Józef Piłsudski stages a coup and takes leadership of Poland
1939	September 1	Nazi Germany attacks Poland
	September 17	Soviet Armies invade Poland
1943	April	Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
	August	Discovery of mass graves of Polish officers in Katyn. All evidence points to the Soviets as the perpetrators, but Stalin denies this; Polish-Soviet relations under stress
1944	August-October	Warsaw Uprising
1945	July	Polish provisional government recognized by Allies
	August	Polish-Soviet agreements on establishing Polish border at Oder-Neisse line
1947	January	Communist Party (PPR) under Bolesław Bierut and Władysław Gomułka wins elections
	July	Poland accepts Marshall Plan and then rejects it two days later
1948	December	Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) formed from PPS and PPR; proposes collectivization and development of heavy industry
1949	January	Former German territories are incorporated into Poland

	November	Gomułka expelled from PUWP, Soviet Marshal Rokossovski becomes Polish Minister oF Defense
1950		Germans living in Poland "resettled" to the West as Poles from eastern territories incorporated into the Soviet Union move to these areas now in Western Poland
1956	February	Gomułka released from prison
	March	Edward Ochab succeeds Bierut as head of PUWP
	June	Strikes in Poznan
	October	Gomułka reinstated as General Secretary of PUWP
1960	January	Secret meeting between Gomułka and Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Polish Primate leads to Church-State accord
	June	Economic acceleration and investment in heavy industry announced
1961		Education minister eases restrictions on teaching of Catholicism
1964		US grants Most-Favored-Nation status
1968	March	Student riots in Warsaw and elsewhere
1970	December	Treaty with Federal Republic of Germany recognizes the Oder-Neisse as Poland's western border; Riots and strikes occur in major cities protesting price increases and economic reforms result in workers being killed in the port cities of Szczecin and Gdańsk; Edward Gierek replaces Gomułka as Party leader
1971		Gierek announces increase of standard of living as a top priority
1976	June	Riots over food price increases.
	July	Price increases reduced then abolished in response to riots; foreign debt increases dramatically
1978	October	Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyła elected Pope, takes the name John Paul II
1979	June	John Paul II visits Poland
1980	July	Increase in meat prices causes protests and strikes across Poland
	August	80,000 workers take over Lenin Shipyards in Gdańsk; Lech Wałęsa heads negotiations for strikers demanding the establishment of a free trade union; Gierek resigns; Party leadership reorganized; Agreement reached on workers' rights to strike and to form independent trade union
	September	Stanisław Kania named new Party leader; Solidarity forms
	October	Solidarity legalized
	November	Warsaw Pact forces maneuver near Polish border; Solidarity recognizes role of Party
	December	Meat rationing; austerity plan introduced; strikes called off as Warsaw Pact troops mass on border
1981	February	General Wojciech Jaruzelski named Prime Minister; students form an independent union
	March	Warsaw Pact maneuvers continue; strikes begin anew; US and EEC extend aid to Poland, reschedule Polish debt payments; US issues warning to USSR against interference in Pola d
	April	Other Warsaw Pact nations criticize Polish reforms
	September	Strikes continue; government warns of crackdown
	October	Solidarity pleads for unity; Polish army deployed
	November	Strikes end; discussions begin between state and Solidarity
	December	Solidarity makes new demands for free elections, access to media, limiting planned economy;
	December 13	Martial law is declared, Solidarity leaders are interned, strikes are crushed; 11 miners are killed at the Wujek Mine in Silesia
1982	May	30,000 Poles march in Warsaw to protest martial law
	July	Government postpones John Paul II's visit
	October	New laws enacted against Solidarity; US withdraws Most Favored Nation status

	November	Wa*l*ęsa released
	December	Martial law suspended
1983	January	New official trade unions established
	May	Nationwide demonstrations in support of Solidarity
	June	John Paul II visits and criticizes government
	July	Martial law is lifted, amnesty for political prisoners declared
	October	Wa*l*ęsa wins Nobel Peace Prize; rationing continues
1984	July	660 political prisoners released
	October	Roman Catholic priest Father Jerzy Popie*l*uszko murdered by Polish security forces
1985	January	Reagan lifts sanctions against Poland citing "general improvement"
	February	4 Polish security forces officers sentenced for Popieluszko murder
1986	June	Government suppression of Solidarity activists
	December	Jaruzelski forms consultative council, including the Party, the Church and Solidarity members, to advise government
1987	March	Price increases for consumer goods announced
	April	Joint Soviet-Polish Cooperation treaty calls for elimination of "blank spots" from their history
	June	Pope John Paul II makes third visit to his homeland
	October	New economic and political reforms announced
1989	February	Round Table Talks take place with participation of Party, Solidarity and Church representatives
	June	Elections to newly formed bicameral Parliament results in overwhelming victory of Solidarity-backed candidates
	July	Jaruzelski elected President, resigns as First Secretary of PUWP; Mieczys*l*aw Rakowski named First Secretary of PUWP; General Czes*l*aw Kiszczak, head of the Security Services through the 1980s elected Prime Minister
	August 17	Kiszczak resigns as Prime Minister
	August 24	Tadeusz Mazowiecki confirmed as the first non-communist Prime Minister in post-war Poland
	September 12	New Polish government formally voted into power; with Solidarity heading six ministries (including finance, labor and education), the PPP heading the ministries of agriculture and justice, the Social Democrats heading 3 ministries, an independent as head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Krzysztof Skubiszewski); and the PUWP maintaining control of 4 ministries (Defense, Transport, Foreign Trade, and Internal Affairs where Kiszczak maintains his position)
	September 11	Change of leadership of the Polish Peasant Party, Dominik Ludwiczak is elected Party Secretary
	October 11	Rakowski meets with Gorbachev in Moscow, Gorbachev calls the changes in Poland "historically justified"
	October 12	Government economic plan is published indexed to 80% inflation
	October 19	Mazowiecki makes his first trip abroad to Italy and the Vatican
	November 23	Mazowiecki visits Moscow where he receives support of Gorbachev for successful reforms
	November 26	Polish Peasant Party changes it's name to The Polish Peasant Renewal Party, reflecting it's pre-World War II profile.
	December 11	Zloty devalued for the 19th time in 1989
	December 28	Poland changes its name back to the pre World War II "The Polish Republic" (from 1945 to this date it was officially called "The Polish People's Republic")

1990

January 1	Poland switches to a market economy, massive price increases; zloty becomes convertible at 9500 to $1.00
January 6	PUWP Central Committee meets and agrees to disbandment
January 27-28	PUWP 11th Party Congress votes to disband in recognition of the fact that it had no hope of gaining public confidence; Social Democracy for the Republic of Poland (SDRP) is formed endorsing a market economy with and element of state ownership and a welfare system, Leszek Miller elected Secretary General; SDRP claims PUWP assets; Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic (SDUPR) is formed under the leadership of Tadeusz Fiszbach; In parliament 165 PUWP delegates remain independent; Jaruzelski, Kiszczak remain independent
February 5	International Monetary Fund approves loans for Poland
February 6	The World Bank approves loans for Poland
February 16	The Paris Club agrees to reschedule Poland's debt
February 21	Unemployment doubles (107,009)
February 24	PUWP turns over 1600 buildings and offices to the State
February 27	Inflation falls from 78% in January to 10% in February
March 2	USSR reschedules Poland's debt
March 8	Solidarity activist Krzysztof Kozłowski named as Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, ending the former communist party's rule over that key ministry.
March 14	As a result of pressure by the Poles, the four World War II allies and the two Germanies agree to Poland taking part in the discussions regarding German reunification
March 17	Wałęsa meets Vaclav Havel at the Polish-Czech border
March 20-26	Mazowiecki visits the United States; an economic agreement aimed at encouraging US investment in Poland is signed
March 22	The Polish Sejm recognizes a free Lithuania Solidarity presses the government for swifter action towards privatization, and minimum wage increases
April 12	Jaruzelski visits Moscow; TASS announces that the Polish officers in Katyn were murdered by Stalin's forces

Two excellent programs on the history of Poland are available from IU sources. The Audio-Visual Center has available for rent the nine-part PBS series "The Struggles for Poland."
The Indiana University Polish Studies Center has the four part video series "Poland: 100 Years of History and Culture" The Polish Studies Center also has slide programs, audio cassette tapes and videotapes available for free loan. For a copy of their audio-visual guide write to IU Polish Studies Center, Memorial Hall W002, Bloomington, IN 47405. (812) 855-8119.

ROMANIA

Romania

Area: 237,500 sq. km (91,704 sq. miles)
Population: 22.653 million
Capital: Bucharest (1.96 million)
Official Language: Romanian
Religion: Romanian Orthodox Church (80%)
Unit of Currency: Leu
Per Capita GNP: US$1900

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. Alphabet and Language

Romanian is perhaps the easiest of the East European languages for an American to learn since it is related to the Romance languages and is recognizable. The language stems from Latin. The pronunciation rules are relatively simple. Consonants are like English except that **c** is always pronounced as **k**, except before **e** and **i** when it is pronounced **che** (as in cello) and **chi** (as in cheat), **che** and **chi** in Romanian are pronounced **ké** and **ki**. **G** is hard and pronounced like **j** before **e** and **i**; except for **ghe** and **ghi**, when it is pronounced **gé** and **gi**. **J** is **zh** as in French, **ş** is **sh**, and **ţ** is **ts**.

II. Geography

Romania is located at approximately 45° north latitude and 25° east longitude (approximately halfway between the North Pole and the Equater and halfway between the Atlantic and the Urals) and is approximately 91,400 square miles in area. It borders on the Soviet Union, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, and has a Black Sea coastline of 153 miles. The dominant physical feature of Romania is the Carpathian mountains, an extension of the Alps, which separate the historic provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia from Transylvania. Within Transylvania are the smaller Bihar mountains. The major river in Romania is the Danube, which has its outlet in Romania and forms most of its southern boundary before turning north to separate the region of Dobrudja from the rest of Romania. The other major historical region of Romania is Bessarabia, which lies between the Pruth and the Dneister rivers and was forcibly ceded to the Soviet Union in 1940 as a result of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The Danube is not only a source of commercial activity, but also provides a large amount of hydroelectric power through the Iron Gates power stations, located where the Danube cuts through the Carpathians. Although Communist rule transformed Romania from an almost exclusively agriculturally based economy to one with a major industrial sector, Romania continues to base a large part of its national output on its agriculture and natural resources, particularly petroleum and petroleum-based products, natural gas, and non-ferrous metals.

The most significant ethnic minority are the two million Magyars (ethnic Hungarians), comprising approximately 10% of the total population of 23 million and living primarily in Transylvania. They were the most persecuted victims of Ceauşescu's repression. The use of minority languages in official or cultural functions was forbidden. Names of Magyars were Romanianized. Only Romanian place names were allowed. Magyar-language television broadcasts ceased and television sets were altered so that programs from Hungary could not be viewed. Magyar schools and universities dwindled. The only newspaper that could be brought from Hungary was *Sakkelet* [Chess Life]; people were refused entry into Romania from Hungary for carrying *Nepszabadsag*, the official Hungarian party daily. The *Securitate* terrorized Magyars and religious activists with beatings and murders. Examples of the human rights violations and brutality suffered by Magyars in Romania seemed endless as Ceauşescu pursued a goal of an ethnically homogenized Romania, either by forced assimilation or by driving the "impure" out of the country. There are also large numbers of Germans, Jews, Serbs, Armenians, Ukrainians, and Gypsies in Romania.

III. History

From the Romans to the Ottomans. The origins of the Romanians are still somewhat in dispute. The most generally accepted theory is that the Romanians descend from the ancient Dacians who ruled the area in the first century. In the second century the Romans took over the area under Emporer Trajan and in the process assimilated the Dacians. When the Romans evacuated the area in the fourth century the people that were left behind are what we today consider Romanians. Until the 11th century, the Romanians were ruled by a variety of migrating tribes that for one reason or another stayed for a period in the area. In the 11th century, the Hungarians took control of Transylvania, although the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia remained independent. In the mid-1400s, the Romanians led by Stephan the Great of Moldavia maintained an independent state that held off the Turks for 50 years.

Greek Phanariote Rule. Stephan's successors, however, were not as talented and were forced to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty and pay tribute. Moldavia and Wallachia were never occupied by the Turks, but were administered for them by Greek Phanariotes. The Romanian nobility maintained a feudal society, but not until the Ottoman Empire went into decline did they begin to live relatively well. Beginning in the early 1600s, as in Bulgaria, the Greek influence dominated Romanian society; teaching the Greek language was emphasized, economic life centered on Greece, and the Slavonic liturgy was forbidden.

Russian Control. Russian influence in the Danubian Principalities grew throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Romania was frequently the battlefield for conflicts between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. The regions were repeatedly occupied by the Russian army and ultimately Russian rule replaced the Ottoman and Greek rule. The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji of 1774 gave Russia the right to speak on behalf of the Principalities to the Porte. Under this treaty, Russia also claimed the right to protect Orthodox Christians in the Balkans. In 1812, Russia annexed Bessarabia. The 1829 Treaty of Adrianople solidified Russian rights in Moldavia and Wallachia, making them a Russian protectorate.

The Dual Election. Romanian independence developed in the aftermath of the Crimean War. The Treaty of Paris of 1856 ended the Russian protectorate and placed Moldavia and Wallachia under the protection of the seven Great Powers. Although the Powers did not want unification to take place at that time, the plebescite which was held to determine the desires of the Romanians regarding their governance resulted in overwhelmingly pro-unionist assemblies in both principalities. The elections which were held to determine who would be prince in each province stipulated that elgible candidates could be born in either principality. As a result the Moldavian assembly in Iaşi elected Alexandru Ion Cuza as prince on 5 January 1859. On 24 January 1859 the Wallachian assembly also elected Cuza, effecting a personal union of the two principalities. The election was presented to the Powers as a *fait accompli*, which they accepted rather than intervene militarily.

Independent Romania. Cuza made great progress in unifying the Romanian nation and in pursuing autonomous policies, particularly regarding his nationalization of the Dedicated Monastaries, but his downfall occured as a result of the opposition of the landowners to his efforts at land reform. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 led to the actual declaration of independence of Romania and the establishment of a Romanian monarch, King Karl, who was of German origin. The Second Balkan War in 1913 saw Romania join the other Balkan nations in an attack on Bulgaria, thus gaining the disputed area of Southern Dubrudja.

Romania during and between the Wars. In the first world war, Romanian irredenta remained regarding Transylvania and Bessarabia, areas disputed with the Hungarians and the Russians respectively. The Romanians, fearing a successful Russian offensive that would deny them Transylvania, entered the war on the Allied side and attacked the Habsburgs in 1916. They were forced, however, to give up and join the Central Powers after a series of defeats. In 1918, however, they rejoined the allies and retook all of Transylvania and Bessarabia. These acquisitions were confirmed by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. The interwar years saw domestic political turmoil due to the ability of whatever party that was in power to use the Ministry of the Interior to stuff ballot boxes and rig elections. During the 1930s Romanian politics became more violent as a Romanian fascist party, the Iron Guard, became more powerful, and in an attempt to thwart their aims, King Karl II had their leader, Corneliu Codreanu, executed and established a royal dictatorship. The Romanians maintained control of their territory until 1940 when the rise of Hitler and the Vienna Diktats of 1939 forced them to give most of Transylvania to the Hungarians and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact allowed the Soviet Union to demand the cession of Bessarabia. The Iron Guard used these capitulations to overthrow King Karl II, and the fascist dictatorship of General Ion Antonescu ruled Romania until 23 August 1944. The Romanians joined the invasion of the USSR in June 1941, hoping to regain Bessarabia, but in 1944 switched sides and joined the allies as the Soviet army advanced in order to ensure the recapture of Transylvania, although Bessarabia was to remain in Soviet hands.

Communist Takeover. As in the other East European countries, the Communists took power in 1944 after a series of coalitions and a campaign to eliminate any rival parties. Significantly, in the dismissals of the 1950s that inevitably followed the takeover, the communists who had stayed in the country in the interwar years, the so-called "Home" communists, under George Gheorghiu-Dej defeated those communists who had been in the Soviet Union, the "Moscovites" led by Ana Pauker. This along with the Sino-Soviet split of the late 1950s allowed the Romanians to claim more independence from the bloc. It is significant that the period of conflict began only after the Soviets had withdrawn their troops from Romania in 1958.

Autonomy from Moscow. The catalyst for the open assertion of Romanian autonomy was Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's 1962 call for a division of labor within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which would have assigned Romania the role of supplier of raw materials and agricultural products to the rest of the bloc. The implementation of this proposal would have required the creation of a supranational planning body. Khrushchev's idea was rejected by Romania because of Gheorghiu-Dej's desire for industrialization. Romania confirmed its defiance of the Soviet Union in its 1964 "Statement on the Stand of the Romanian Workers' Party Concerning the Problems of the International Communist and Working Class Movement,"

> Bearing in mind the diversity of the conditions of socialist construction, there are not, nor can there be, any unique patterns and recipes; no one can decide what is, and what is not correct for other countries and parties. It is up to every Marxist-Leninist party, it is a sovereign right of each socialist state, to elaborate, choose or change the forms and methods of socialist construction.

> There does not and cannot exist a 'parent' party and a 'son' party, or 'superior' parties and 'subordinate' parties...No party has, or can have, a privileged place, or can impose its line and opinions on other parties.[1]

Ceauşescu's Megalomania. The death of Gheorghiu-Dej in 1965 led to the rise of Nicolae Ceauşescu who led the Communist Party until 22 December 1989. The sixties were a period of relative domestic liberalism when culture was renationalized, political prisoners were released, the Minister of the Interior responsible for much of the terror of the 1950s, Alexandru Draghici, was purged, Soviet advisors eliminated, and foreign policy relied on Western financial and political help. Many believe that this was only a policy that Ceauşescu followed in order to eliminate the hardline opposition to him, and, once this opposition had been eliminated by the mid-1970s, he himself became a hardliner. Ceauşescu's relative popularity however dissipated in the 1980s as economic policies employed previously began to collapse and a neo-Stalinist system of terror was practiced by a pervasive secret police. Opposition emerged somewhat as rumors of military coups and workers' strikes in the Jiu Valley in 1977 and in Braşov in 1987 show. Furthermore, the policy of systematization caused an uproar among the Hungarians in Hungary who claimed that the plan hoped to "romanianize" the Magyar minority in Romania. The systemization program was designed to destroy 8,000 villages, not only in Magyar areas, and resettle the population in agro-industrial complexes. Although the Magyars were definitely a persecuted minority in Romania, it is important to remember that all Romanians suffered under Ceauşescu's dictatorship.

Government and Communist Party under Ceauşescu. Although the structures were similar to other bloc states, the Communist system in Romania differed slightly, but in significant ways. The party was one of the largest in Eastern Europe, constituting 14% of the population as a result of the rejection of the role of the Communist Party as an elitist vanguard and attempts to emphasize "the unity of the Party and the People." Differences also existed in the Political Executive Committee (the Politburo) which consisted of forty people and a huge Central Committee.

These same strange combinations exist as well between the state and the party. In contrast to other Communist states, the party was not a separate policy-making institution, but rather unified with the state especially at county and communal levels. At the national level as well, there are joint party-state bodies. The party still maintains primacy in decision making while the state has only managerial functions. Also, similar to other countries, mass organizations exist for the transmission of information to and from the population.

The most significant political force was the power that Nicolae Ceauşescu accumulated. He helped to adopt a policy of cadre rotation which rotates all but a few individuals after two or three years to a new position ostentsibly to make sure that political executives remain "generalists." Actually it is to prevent any rivals from accumulating any political power base from which they can attack Ceauşescu and to disassociate administrators from specific bureaucratic interests diffusing the impact of bureaucratic politics.

The last curious aspect of Romanian politics was the personality cult that Ceauşescu built up around himself and his wife, Elena. The role of the family in the party is significant as Elena was considered the number two person in the regime symbolized by her position as

---

[1]Scînteia, 23 April 1964, quoted in Michael Shafir, Romania: Politics, Economics, and Society, (London: Frances Pinter, 1985), p. 177.

Chairman of the Central Committee for state and party cadres. Even their irresponsible son Nicu gained high posts in the government.

The 1989 Revolution. The revolution that toppled the Ceauşescu regime originated in Timişoara, where on 15 December 1989 a demonstration began to protect a Magyar Calvinist priest, Laszlo Tokes, from arrest by the *Securitate*. The demonstration quickly swelled into a massive anti-Ceauşescu rally involving Romanians, Magyars, and other ethnic groups which lasted for several days. On 17 December 1989 Ceauşescu gave the order to shoot the protesters, and then left for a scheduled three-day visit to Iran. Through the BBC and Radio Free Europe, Romanians throughout the country heard about the protest and the ensuing massacres. On his return to Romania on 20 December, Ceauşescu addressed the nation on television, blaming the unrest on foreign interference. On 21 December he staged a rally in support of his policies in Palace Square in Bucharest. Instead of the traditionally forced shouts of "*Ceauşescu şi Poporul*" [Ceauşescu and the People], he was jeered with shouts of "*Ceauşescu Dictatorul*" [Ceauşescu the Dictator]. Visibly shaken and having lost control of the crowd, Ceauşescu's speech was interrupted for three minutes and his weakness encouraged the crowds. Crowds filled the streets of Bucharest that night and the next morning, 22 December 1989, Ceauşescu ordered the army to shoot the demonstrators. Rather than carry out this order, the Defense Minister, Vasile Milea, was shot in mysterious circumstances. The army turned against Ceauşescu and he and his wife were forced to flee Bucharest. Fighting continued between the army and the still-loyal *Securitate* forces. Ceauşescu and his wife were captured on 23 December and summarily executed on 25 December 1989 after a secret trial by anonymous judges which was later broadcast on television.

The power vacuum that followed the departure was filled by the National Salvation Front, a group of primarily former officials who had fallen into disfavor with Ceauşescu. The Front is led by Ion Iliescu, and has promised elections for 20 May 1990. Instead of being a provisional government as originally promised, the Front appears intent on reforming one-party rule, rather than developing democratic institutions. The Front rules by executive order, controls the radio and television and has its own newspapers, and has replaced Ceauşescu's supporters with its own. It will run candidates in the elections which it will administer. Although they do not have the same access to the media that the Front has, opposition parties were allowed to form and are allowed to freely publish their own newspapers. Romania no longer exists in a state of isolation from the rest of Europe, and the popular pressures against Communist rule and in favor of liberal democracy continue to grow.

V. Economy

The Romanian economy remained a Stalinist edifice throughout the eighties. Throughout the 70s, the tenets of the system seemed in accordance with Ceauşescu's personal inclinations: human regimentation, heavy industry, "gigantomania," the socialization of agriculture, and ideologically motivated prejudice against private gain. This resulted in considerable success in the seventies with high growth rates and investment, the wholesale transformation of agriculture, and the development of a relatively industrialized society. The extensive industrialization and labor transfers to industry, however, reached a point of diminishing returns, with no increase in productivity nor of quality of goods.

The maintenance of the Stalinist system did not mean that no reforms were implemented. Innovations were introduced to establish "collegiality," ownership, and worker self-management, to decentralize some of the economic decision making such as profit sharing,

and to improve productivity and efficiency, but reforms have been superficial. These failures and the oil crisis led to significant problems that were only solved by taking out loans from the West. These resulted in huge trade deficits. To eliminate these, Ceauşescu rescheduled credits, minimized imports and maximized exports, thus, bringing untold miseries to the people in the form of food shortages and rationing, heavy price increases, and energy shortages such as no heating in the winter. These cuts brought Romania to the brink of economic disaster.

VI. Religion

Romanian Orthodox-80%, Roman Catholic-6%, Calvinist, Lutheran, Jewish, and Baptist-6%.

VII. Chronology

2nd Century		Rome brings Balkan Peninsula under its rule
271		Roman army and administration withdrawn from Romanian territories.
11th Century		Transylvania comes under Hungarian rule
1250-1350		Romanians found principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia
1774		Russia defeats Turks--becomes "guarantor" of principalities
1829		Russia again defeats Turks--guarantees autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia and Russian collective protection
1856		Russia defeated in Crimean War placing Moldavia and Wallachia under great power protection
1859		Moldavia and Wallachia united and named Romania
1878		Turks defeated--Romania gains full independence
1913		Second Balkan War: Romania joins war against Bulgaria and takes Dubrodja
1916		Romania enters WWI attacking Austria-Hungary but is defeated and joins the central powers
1918		Rejoins allies doubling its territory taking Transylvania and Bessarabia
1941-44		Joins Axis but loses parts of Transylvania to Hungary
1945	March	Radescu government resigns: new government formed under Petru Groza
1946	May	Agreement on disposition of Romanian territory: Transylvania given to Romania
	November	National Democratic Front wins general elections winning 70% of vote; charges of discrimination and arrests of opposition
1947	October	Communist and Social Democratic Parties unite to form Romanian Workers' Party
	December	Romanian monarchy abolished
1950	June	Party purges 192,000 members
1951	September	10 Roman Catholic Priests arrested for espionage and tried
1952	May	Cabinet purge of Ana Pauker and followers

1953	August	Gheorghiu-Dej calls industrial effort excessive and announces increases in food and consumer supplies
	September	Romanian Jews arrested and tried for Zionism
1958	July	Soviet troops withdrawn
1962	March	Romania opposes CMEA division of labor
1964	April	Gheorghiu-Dej offers to mediate Sino-Soviet dispute
	June	Release of all political prisoners in past three years
1965	July	New Party statute and constitution asserting Romanian independence; industrial development stressed
1966	May	Ceausescu attacks Soviet seizure of Bukovina, existence of blocs
1967	January	Romania establishes relations with FRG
1969	June	Romania openly opposes Brezhnev Doctrine
	August	Nixon visits Romania
1971	November	Ceausescu calls for role of party to be strengthened to combat liberalizing trends in culture and art
1972	February	General Ion Serb executed for passing military secrets to USSR
1973	June	Ceausescu first East European leader to visit FRG
1974	April	Romania opposes Soviet proposals at world meeting of Communist parties
	July	Receives world bank loan and announces greater control of economy, investment, and foreign trade
1977	August	Miners in Jiu Valley strike over living conditions
1978	November	Romania refuses to contribute 923$ million to Warsaw Pact
1980	March	Ceauşescu criticizes USSR invasion of Afghanistan
1981	July	Romania requests hard currency credit from CMEA
1985	May	Ceausescu proposes freeze on military expenditures
	October	Executive political committee declares state of emergency due to energy crisis
1987	May	Gorbachev visits
	December	10,000 citizens riot in Brasov
1989	16-17 December	Demonstrations in Timişoara are brutally suppressed
	21 December	Ceauşescu loses control of rally in Bucharest as word of Timişoara massacre spreads.
	22 December	Army joins protestors against Ceauşescu, he and his wife are forced to flee. The National Salvation Front takes over. *Securitate* forces loyal to Ceauşescu counterattack later that day.
	25 December	Ceauşescu executed. *Securitate* resistence ends in following days.
1990	20 May	Elections scheduled.

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia

Area: 98, 772 sq. miles
Population: 22.745 million
Capital: Belgrade
Official Languages: Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian
Religion: Orthodox (41%), Roman Catholic (32%), Islam (12%)
Unit of Currency: Dinar

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I. Alphabets and Languages

Yugoslavia has three official and distinct languages: Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. Both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets are used in Yugoslavia. The Cyrillic alphabet, based on Greek script, was created in the ninth century AD in the area of Macedonia. It was named after the ninth century Byzantine missionary Constantine-Cyril, although he actually devised the Glagolitic alphabet based on Greek cursive script by which the Gospels could be transcribed into Slavonic. Due to ecclesiastical reasons, Cyrillic had replaced Glagolitic as the Slavic alphabet throughout the Balkan area except for Croatia by the fifteenth century. Today, the areas of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina use the Latin alphabet, and Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro use the Cyrillic. Vuk Karadzić (1787-1864) wrote the first orthography of the Serbian literary language in the 1840's. This orthography is the basis of present-day Serbo-Croatian.

II. Geography

Yugoslavia is a country comprised of six republics and two autonomous provinces: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia (with autonomous provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina), Montenegro and Macedonia. There are six nationalities in Yugoslavia: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Moslem, Montenegrin, and Macedonian; as well as over ten minorities including Albanian, Hungarian, and Slovak. Yugoslavia also has three main religions: Moslem, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox. It is bordered by Italy, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, and the Adriatic Sea. The major rivers are the Danube, Sava, Drava, and Morava. The Alps mountain range continues down along western Yugoslavia through Slovenia (Julian Alps) and along the coastal area of Dalmatia (Dinaric Alps). The Pannonian Plain stretches into Vojvodina and part of Croatia, providing fertile farmland.

III. Historical Background AD 500-1990

Yugoslavia means "land of the South Slavs." Yugoslavia does not denote a particular nationality but rather a political grouping of various nationalities with diverse cultures, histories, traditions, religions, and alphabets.

Early History. In the late fourth century, the South Slavs as a loosely organized collection of tribes migrated from north of the Carpathian Mountains to their present home in the Balkans. The Slav prince Samo's Empire (627-658) stretched from Zagreb up through Slovenia and into Moravia. In the ninth century, the Slavs were converted to Christianity. The Slovenes and Croats were converted by the Western Church of Rome during Charlemagne's rule. The Croatian Dalmatians had been converted by Roman missionaries as early as the seventh century. The Serbs and Macedonians were converted by the Eastern Church of Byzantium. In 863 Prince Rastislav of the Moravian Empire requested missionaries to be sent from Byzantium to convert the Slavs through the Slavic tongue. The brothers Constantine-Cyril and Methodius successfully spread the Eastern faith throughout the Balkan area and the Moravian Empire. Conversion to Islam coincided with the Turkish conquest of much of the South Slav lands beginning in the fourteenth century, although the Ottomans did not force conversion.

The Slovenes, inhabiting the northwest corner of Yugoslavia, had been under foreign rule since the time of Samo. In the eighth century, the region of Slovenia was under Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire. The Slovene culture would henceforth be

linked with Austria and the Habsburg Empire up until 1918. The Slovenes, however, managed to retain their culture and language throughout the centuries.

The Croats live to the south of the Slovenes between the Adriatic Sea and the Drava River. In 925 chieftain Tomislav established an independent kingdom and declared himself king of Croatia. The kingdom flourished until 1089 when the death of Prince Zvonimir caused a dynastic dispute. As a result, a Hungarian prince claimed the throne in 1102, and this began the difficult relationship between the two countries for eight centuries. Croatia maintained that they were a separate state with the same king. The Croatian state always maintained both a Ban (governor) and a Sabor (parliament), keeping some autonomy. By the sixteenth century, the Ottomans had reached the Sava River south of Zagreb.

The Serbs inhabit the central area of Yugoslavia. Former subjects of Byzantium, they established their own independent state in 1219 which flourished under the rule of King Dušan. Between 1331 and 1355, he conquered Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Albania. The Turks, however, defeated the Serbs in the battle of Kosovo in 1389. By 1459, an independent Serbia ceased to exist.

The Montenegrins, occupying the mountainous area southwest of Serbia, were culturally indistinguishable from the Serbs until the forcible separation of their principality (Zeta) from Serbia after Tsar Dušan's death in 1355. The Ottomans controlled the area by 1514, but due to the mountainous terrain and the defiant nature of the people, Turkish sovereignty was not exercised to a great extent.

The area of Macedonia, which connects the Danubian lowlands to the Aegean Sea, had remained under Byzantine control, except for a brief period in the tenth century in which it was under Bulgarian rule. Serbian and then Ottoman rule exerted their powers until the twentieth century. The mix of Byzantine, Greek, and Bulgarian influences have produced a rich culture. The attempt to distinguish a Macedonian people separate from Bulgarian or Greek influences is a point of some controversy because of the location of Macedonia.

The Moslems have been recognized as a separate nationality since 1969. Bosnia and Herzegovina historically was made up of Serbs and Croats. Much of Bosnia remained under the medieval Croatian kingdom, while Herzegovina was incorporated into Serbia. By 1526 in the Battle of Mohács, Bosnia and Herzegovina remained under Ottoman rule until the nineteenth century. As a result, thousands converted to Islam and gaining ruling positions in the Ottoman Empire.

National Revivals and Independence. In the 18th and 19th centuries, nationalism evolved as a major force among the Slavic peoples. The French Revolution and Napoleon's subsequent occupation of parts of Slovenia and Croatia was welcomed by the intellectuals. The Illyrian Movement, which was founded in Croatia in the 1830's by Ljudevit Gaj, stressed the unity of all Slavs under one Illyrian language. While nationalist feelings were confined to intellectuals in the north, the Serbian peasantry, after one unsuccessful uprising in 1804 led by Karadjordje ("Black George"), successfully defeated the Ottomans in 1815 under Milos Obrenovic. Obrenovic became king, and a dynastic battle ensued between the Obrenovic and Karadjordjevic families. Serbia gained autonomy and proclaimed their independence by 1882.

The Ausgleich Compromise of 1867, which created Austria-Hungary as two equal nations, restored Croatia to Hungarian rule, although a year later, the Nagodba (Compromise) entitled Croatia to self-government under its Sabor.

After Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 as an attempt to halt Serbian expansion, the Balkan Slavs formed an alliance to expel both the Turks and Austrians and divide up the remaining land. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece joined the Balkan League, and in 1912 defeated the Turks in the First Balkan War. Largely because of disputes over territory, the Second Balkan War (joined by Romania and Turkey) broke out in 1913 against Bulgaria. Serbia claimed much of contested Macedonia in these wars.

World War I. On June 28, 1914, the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo by a Bosnian nationalist was the catalyst to the start of World War I. The Serbs had hoped to create a Greater Serbian nation. Ironically, both Serbs and Croats in the Habsburg Empire fought against the independent Serbs. Serbia and Montenegro surrendered in 1915 to the Bulgarians and the Austrians. The Yugoslav Committee, a group of London based exiles from the empire who wanted the unification of South Slavs under a single state, and representatives of the Serbian government reached an agreement in 1917 stating that the South Slav lands within the Habsburg Empire would join with Serbia to form a nation under the Karadjordjević dynasty. The proclamation of this union was declared on December 1, 1918.

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The first attempt at unification was unsuccessful mainly because the leaders had never discussed whether the new state would have a centralized or federal administration. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was consequently based on a centralized Serbian administration that wanted to extend Serbian rule, while the other nationalities wanted a decentralized state which left the republics autonomous in internal affairs. In 1929, the conflicts in attempting to satisfy national demands caused King Alexander in 1929 to overthrow the constitutional government and establish a dictatorship. His assassination by nationalists in 1934 symbolized the continual decay of the empire and the rise of nationalist groups such as the Croatian Ustasa and the Serbian Zbor until the outbreak of World War II.

World War II. The Germans invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941. The Germans set up quasi-independent states in Croatia led by Ante Pavelic of the Ustasa and in Serbia under Milan Nedić. Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, and Hungary divided up Yugoslavia. Two guerilla groups emerged: the Serbian Chetniks led by Draza Mihailovic and the Communist Partisans led by Josip Broz Tito. Such a situation led to civil war in which an estimated 1.9 million died by the end of 1945. The Allied forces switched support from the Chetniks to the Partisans in 1943, and consequently the Partisans won the war and eventually eliminated its internal rivals for power.

Tito's Yugoslavia. Tito hoped to establish a state that secured unity and brotherhood based on the ideas of federalism and socialism. The Partisans kept control of the country during and after the war and maintained close relations with the Soviet Union. Tito made independent stands on domestic and foreign policies that came into conflict with the Soviet Union. Stalin also tended not to treat Tito as an equal but as a subordinate. Further conflicts resulted in a complete break in 1948 when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform. The Yugoslavs subsequently developed their own theory of a "separate road to socialism" and began to decentralize the government in the 1950's. The unique theory of self-management emphasized the worker management of industry and social institutions, autonomous enterprises, use of the market, and worker dictated wages. The period from 1953-63 saw an economic growth rate second only to Japan, the creation of institutions of self-government and autonomy, expansion of the education system, and a modernization of underdeveloped areas.

In the sixties, however, conflicts arose over investment and the question of main power belonging to the federal government, the republics, communes, or enterprises. Large amounts of money were taken from the northern, more prosperous republics, and invested in the southern republics in the hope that they would become economically self-sufficient. The liberal communists wanted a decentralized government with power residing with the republics, while conservatives wanted power in Belgrade. The conflict was also based on nationalist complaints. The initial defeat of the conservatives was symbolized by the economic reforms of 1963 and the fall of the head of the secret police, Alexander Rankovic, in 1966. The Croats, however, continued to demand the right to keep a higher share of the foreign currency received in their republic instead of sending it to the underdeveloped southern republics. They also insisted that the Croatian language be separated from the Serbian. Continued instances of nationalism forced Tito to step in and purge the Croatian Communist Party, among other organizations, of nationalists in December of 1971.

Yugoslavia 1980 - 1990. Since the death of Tito in 1980, national conflicts have continued to an even greater extent. National tensions have existed for centuries in the Balkans, and no single leader has had the ability to suppress the nationalities like Tito. Riots have transpired in the Kosovo province in 1981 and heightened through 1988-90. The Albanians, who make up more than 90% of the population in Kosovo, are demanding greater autonomy within the Serbian republic. The Serbs, on the contrary, have recently passed constitutional amendments which have greatly reduced any Albanian autonomous rights. Although the Albanians have inhabited the region of Kosovo several hundred years longer than the South Slavs, the Serbs claim that the area was the seat of Tsar Dusan's empire, and must continue to be Serbian dominated. The Kosovo situation gives the republics of Croatia and Slovenia the prime opportunity to voice their general discontent. Recently, both the Slovenes and the Croats have moved to hold elections and break Serbian economic and political control.

IV. Political System

The system of government in Yugoslavia has been significantly altered from its initial centralized position. In 1970, a constitutional amendment formally allocated prime sovereignty to the six republics and two autonomous regions. The federal powers were limited to foreign policy, national defense, measures to ensure a unified Yugoslav economy, common monetary and trade policies, and insurance of ethnic and individual rights. This significantly altered the structure of government. Power now resides with the regional leadership and not with the national communist party.

The leadership of the country was further altered in 1978 when the "standing rules" for collective leadership were published. Tito realized that a correct ethnic balance was needed in the leadership to ensure no one nor any one nationality would gain excessive power. A rotation system of leadership was introduced by which the presidents of the state and of the Yugoslav Party rotated annually on an republic basis. More stability, however, was necessary in the federal government. The federal prime minister, therefore, would rotate every four years.

V. Economic System

The self-management system described above has been altered significantly due both to weaknesses in its operation and ethnic conflicts. The primary change began in 1960 with a debate on investment, income distribution and whether power should lie with the federal

government, the republics, communes, or enterprises. The liberals, chiefly from economically advanced republics, argued for decentralization from the center, due to widespread resentment in those areas to high financial contributions to the center being redistributed to the southern republics. The conservatives from the South argued that centrally directed investment and subsidization of new industry and economic infrastructure in the South was necessary until a level of economic self-sufficiency was reached. These debates resulted in the 1963-66 reforms allocating more power to local enterprises, communes, and self-managing associations that would rely on the market mechanism to conduct economic life.

By the 1970s the financial situation weakened as the state's direct and exclusive sources of income were further limited. In 1976, problems with the system convinced leaders to further alter the system to make self-management a concern and privilege of the workers. The main unit of self-management was now the Basic Organization of Associated Labor (BOAL), which were autonomous administrative and financial units governed by workers' councils. They were responsible for wages, production, prices, markets, and credit policy. The goal was to break the hold managers had on the system of production. Disorganization and fragmentation of the economy furthered the deterioration of the economy to even worse levels than previously experienced. By the end of 1989, the national debt had exceeded $19 billion and the annual inflation rate was 2600%.

VI. Religion

Yugoslavia's diversity is reflected in its religious composition. The Northern area of Slovenia and Croatia is predominantly Catholic. Serbia is Orthodox and the Moslem population predominates in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo. Serbian Orthodox-41%, Roman Catholic-32%, Muslim-12%, None-12%.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

400-600	Slavic tribes migrate into Balkans
800-1000	Slavs converted to Christianity by East (Orthodox) and West (Catholic) Churches
1102	Croatian Kingdom accepts Hungarian king
1169-89	Stefan Nemanja establishes Serbian kingdom
1331-55	Tsar Stefan Dusan extends empire to encompass Albania, Macedonia, and most of Adriatic and Ionian coasts; capital is moved to Ohrid
1389	Serbian Empire defeated by Ottomans at Battle of Kosovo
1527	Croatian Sabor elects Ferdinand of Habsburg as king
1573	peasant uprising in Slovenia and Croatia near Zagreb under Matija Gubec
1779	Montenegrins gain Turkish recognition for independence
1804-13	Serbs under Karadjordje unsuccessfully revolt against Ottomans
1815-30	Serbs revolt again and gain autonomy within Ottoman Empire
1856	Russian defeat in Crimean War places Serbia under control of Great Powers'collective protection

1878-88		Turks defeated; Serbia gains total independence; Bosnia-Hercegovina occupied by Austria-Hungary
1908		Bosnia-Herzegovina annexed by Austria-Hungary
1912		First Balkan War--Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria join league against Ottoman Empire; Turks lose
1913		Second Balkan War--League attacks Bulgaria, Serbia takes Macedonia
1914		Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Bosnian Gavrilo Princip is catalyst to start of World War I
1918		United Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes proclaimed; composed of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro
1928		Croat Stjepan Radić assassinated in Parliament by Serbian nationalist
1929		King Alexander suspends constitution; Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes changes name to Yugoslavia
1934		Joins Romania and Germany in Balkan mutual non-aggression pact; King Alexander is assassinated
1941		Yugoslavia is occupied by Axis powers; Croatian fascist state and Serbian rump state formed
1943		Allies switch support from Chetniks to Partisans
1944		Soviet Army enters Belgrade; Communist-controlled elections are held and a Soviet-type constitution establishes the Yugoslav federation of six republics. Tito becomes Prime Minister
1945	April	20 year friendship and mutual assistance treaty signed with USSR
	October	Opposition leaders resign from Yugoslav cabinet
	November	Tito's National Front wins election boycotted by opposition and received 90% of vote
1948	March	Soviet-Yugoslav dispute erupts
	June	Soviets denounce Tito for "nationalist deviations"
		Yugoslavia expelled from Cominform
1949	September	Soviets denounce friendship treaty with Yugoslavia, other East European nations follow suit
1950	June	Workers' councils established
1951	April	Yugoslav government decentralized and reformed
	May	Compulsory food deliveries abolished, farmers allowed to sell on free market
1953		Tito becomes President
	November	Yugoslav ambassadors return to Bulgaria and Hungary
	December	Relations with Albania are restored
1954	June	Diplomatic relations with Romania restored
	August	Joins Balkan Pact with Greece and Turkey
1955	May	Khrushchev visits Yugoslavia; relations are normalized
		Tito, along with Nasser, Nehru, Nkhruma, and Sukarno, found the Nonaligned Movement

1957	October	Djilas expelled after publishing New Class
	November	Yugoslavia does not attend Moscow meeting of Communist parties
1958	April	New Yugoslav party program approved; criticized by Soviets as "revisionist"
1963	April	New constitution replaces 1946 constitution
1964	March	US grants Most Favored Nation status
1966	July	Interior Minister Rankovic and followers removed from government
	October	Reorganization of Yugoslav League of Communists
1970	April	Croatian nationalists assassinate Yugoslav ambassador to Sweden
1971		Tito establishes collective leadership system with rotating posts
	December	Croatian nationalist riots lead to resignation of top Croatian leaders
1972	December	Expulsion of Croatian nationalists from throughout Party and government
1973	February	4th Yugoslav constitution since World War II gives greater power to workers through factory councils
	October	Agreement with USSR on industrial cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs
1979		Rotating leadership system is extended to the Communist party leadership
1980	April	Yugoslavia signs trade agreement with European Economic Community
		Tito dies; authority is invested in a collective state presidency and party presidium
1981	March	State of emergency declared in Kosovo due to rioting for ethnic rights
	April	Albanian separatist riots are put down, 9 dead and 250 wounded; Yugoslav embassy in Albania is bombed
	August	Albanians expelled from Yugoslav Party
1986		Radically nationalist Slobodan Milosevic becomes leader of Serbian Communist Party
1987	February	Federal militia units stationed in Kosovo
1988	November	Albanian Communist Party leader Azem Vllasi removed from Central Committee
	December	Prime Minister and government collectively resign, the first time in post-war Yugoslavia
1989	January	Ante Markovic is elected new Prime Minister
	February	Central Committe of League of Communists expel Vllasi; in response, 1300 Kosovo miners stage 8 day hunger strike 700 meters underground. They demand, among other things, the rejection of amendments to the Serbian constitution which would greatly increase direct control over province and the resignation of top Albanian party leaders.
	March	Inflation reaches 400%
		Kosovo Provincial National Assembly approves amendments to Serbian constitution which increased republic control over the province in judiciary, defense and finances among others
		Thousands of ethnic Albanians clash with police; by the end of March, official death toll stands at 24 with 222 injured

	June	One million Serbs commemorate the 600 year anniversary of the defeat of the Serbs by the Ottomans at the Battle of Kosovo
	July	25th plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) held; ethnic conflicts and nationality clashes occur
	September	26th plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY; call for streamlining of the party's Central Committee and reorganization of hierarchy Inflations reaches 800% Ninth Conference of the Nonaligned Movement is held in Belgrade
	October	Slovenian National Assembly approves 54 amendments to its republic's constitution; most important is the republic's right to self-determination
	December	Radical changes in Eastern Europe prompt fierce debate on political change in Yugoslavia For the first time in post-war Yugoslavia, Christmas celebrations are given attention in the media; Annual inflation rate hits 2600%; unemployment rate close to 20%
1990	January	Wages and prices are frozen, and a new fully convertible dinar is introduced (10,000 old dinars = 1 new dinar) Slovene delegation walks out of plenary session of 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY; Slovenes want party decentralized. Proceedings are suspended The Secretary of the Central Committe of the LCY announces that the LCY was ready to relinquish its monopoly on political power and compete with other political parties on an equal footing Clashes between ethnic Albanians and federal militia in Kosovo claim seven lives. Albanians want more autonomy, resignation of local leaders, multi-party elections, and release of political prisoners
	February	Death count in Kosovo reaches 26 New political parties are created in Slovenia and Croatia
	March	Slovenian National Assembly passes several amendments to the constitution declaring its economic independence from the federation and dropping of the word "socialist" from the republic's name Albanian students demand the end of a year-long state of emergency in the province
	April	Slovenian and Croatian elections for National Assemblies to be held

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR EASTERN EUROPE

GENERAL AND INTRODUCTORY SELECTIONS

1988 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs (since 1966)
Background Notes. U.S. Department of State. (each country)
Benes, Vaclav, et al. Eastern European Government and Politics. NY, 1966.(A concise political analysis)
Clarkson, Jesse. A History of Russia. NY, 1969.
Communist and Marxist Parties of the World
Countries of the World and Their Leaders Yearbook.
Dawisha, Karen. Eastern Europe: Gorbachev and Reform: The Great Challenge. NY, 1988.
Europe Review (annual)
Fejto, Francois. A History of the People's Democracies. Eastern Europe Since Stalin. NY, 1971.
Gati, Charles. The Bloc that Failed: Soviet and Eat European Relations in Transition. Bloomington, 1990.
Halecki, Oskar. Borderlands of Western Europe. A History of East Central Europe. NY, 1952.
Horecky, Paul. East Central Europe. A Guide to Basic Publications. Chicago, 1969. (A classic bibliography)
----------. Southeastern Europe. A Guide to Basic Publications. Chicago, 1969. (A classic bibliography)
Jelavich, Barbara. History of the Balkans. vols 1 and 2. Cambidge, 1983.
Kort, Michael. The Soviet Colossus. NY, 1985.
Macartney, C.A. The House of Austria. Edinburgh, 1978.
----------. Hungary and Her Successors. Edinburgh, 1937.
McCrea, Barbara, ed. The Soviet and East European Political Dictionary. Santa Barbara, 1984.
Morris, L.P. Eastern Europe Since 1945. London, 1984. (A concise and readable history)
Schopflin, George, ed. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A Handbook. NY, 1970. (Fine collection of general essays)
The Statesman's Yearbook. Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World.
Stavrianos, L.S. The Balkans Since 1453. NY, 1958. (The indispensable vade mecum of East European history)

FOR INFORMATION ON CURRENT AFFAIRS see:
The New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, The Christian Science World Monitor, The Economist, Radio Free Europe Research, and Foreign Broadcast and Information Service--Eastern Europe.

Below are sections on each country in Eastern Europe. Part One (I) of each lists the most recent comprehensive bibliography for the country. Part II is an example of that country's own publications (or propaganda, as the case may be) about itself. Part III includes books on politics, history, and society, while the final section (IV) lists some sample literary works.

ALBANIA

I. (none available)
II. Portrait of Albania. Tirana, 1982.
III. Halliday, Jon, ed. The Artful Albanian. Memoirs of Enver Hoxha. London, 1986.
Logoreci, Anton. The Albanians. Europe's Forgotten Survivors. Boulder, 1977.
Marmullaku, Ramadan. Albania and the Albanians. London, 1975.
Pollo, Stefanq, and Arben Puto. The History of Albania. Baltimore, 1968.
Prifti, Peter R. Socialist Albania since 1944. Domestic Developments. Cambridge, 1978.
IV. The Woman in Albanian Literature. Tirana, 1965.

BULGARIA

I. Pundeff, Marin. Bulgaria: A Bibliographic Guide. Washington,D.C., 1965. (The most recent available)
II. Bokov, Georgi. Bulgaria. History, Policy, Economy, Culture. Sofia, 1981.
III. Craver, Elena. Bulgarian Longevity. Clues to a Long Life. New York, 1982.
Anastasoff. The Bulgarians: From Their Arrival in the Balkans to Modern Times. Hicksville, NY, 1977.
Crampton, R. J. A Short History of Modern Buldgaria. New York, 1987.
Craver, Elena. Bulgarian Longevity. Clues to a Long Life. New York, 1982.
IV. Vazov, Ivan. Under the Yoke. Sofia, 1960.
Dzhagarov, Georgi. The Prosecutor. New York, 1969.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I. Short, David. Czechoslovakia. Oxford, 1986.
II. Socialist Czechoslovakia. Prague, 1975.
III. Seton-Watson, R.W. A History of the Czechs and Slovaks. London, 1965 (1943).
Szulc, Tad. Czechoslovakia Since World War II. NY: 1971.
IV. Neruda, Jan. Tales of the Little Quarter. London, 1957 (1877). {Czech work}
Mnacko, Ladislav. The Taste of Power. NY: 1967. {Slovak work}
Kundera, Milan. The Joke. New York, 1984.
Havel, Vaclav. The Memorandum.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (EAST GERMANY)

I. Wallace, Ian. East Germany. Oxford, 1987.
II. The German Democratic Republic. Berlin (East), 1981.
Prisma. (Monthly magazine in English)
III. Ludz, Peter Christian. The GDR in the '60s and '70s.
Schneider, Eberhard. The GDR. The History, Politics, Economy, and Society of East Germany NY, 1978.
Smith, Jean Edward. Germany Beyond the Wall. Boston, 1969.
IV. Wolf, Christa. Divided Heaven. Berlin (East), 1968.
Wolf, Christa. Accident. A Day's News. Berlin (East), 1987.
Also the works of: Volker, Braun, Helga Königsdorf, Stephen Heym, Heiner Müller, Irmtraud Morgner and the poetry of Johannes R. Becker and Wolf Bierman.

HUNGARY

I. Kabdebo, Thomas. Hungary. Oxford, 1980.
II. Halasz, Zoltan. Hungary. Budapest, 1966. (See also ibid, 1981, for an expanded version.)
III. Macartney, C.A. Hungary: A Short History. Edinburgh, 1962.
Michener, James. Bridge at Andau. NY, 1957.
IV. Moricz, Zsigmond. Be Faithful Unto Death. Budapest, 1962.
Radnoti, Miklos. Clouded Sky. New York, 1972.
Konrad, Gyorgy. The Case Worker. New York, 1974.

POLAND

I. Lewanski, Richard. Poland. Oxford, 1984.
II. Poland. The Country and Its People. Warsaw, 1979.
Poland, bi-monthly magazine in English.
III. Davies, Norman. God's Playground. A History of Poland. NY, 1982.
Davies, Norman. Heart of Europe. NY, 1985.
Weschler, Lawrence. Solidarity. Poland in the Season of its Passion. NY, 1982.
IV. Sienkiewicz, Henryk. With Fire and Sword. Boston, 1898.
MiJosz, CzesJaw. The Captive Mind. NY, 1953.
Konwicki, Tadeusz. A Dreambook for Our Time. (Warsaw, 1963), NY, 1984.
Nowakowski, Marek. The Canary and Other Tales of Martial Law. NY, 1984.

ROMANIA

I. Deletant, Andrea, and Dennis Deletant. Romania. Oxford, 1985.
II. Romania: General Survey. Bucharest, 1982. (For photographs, see Romania, Bucharest, 1964.)
III. Crowther, William E. The Political Economy of Romanian Socialism. New York, 1988.
Hale, Julian. Ceausescu's Romania. London, 1971.
Fischer-Galati, Stephen. Twentieth Century Romania. NY, 1970.
Otetea, Andrei, ed. A Concise History of Romania. English edition edited by Andrew MacKenzie. London, 1985.
Shafir, Michael. Romania: Politics, Economics, and Society. London, 1985.
Turnock, David. The Romanian Economy in the Twentieth Century. New York, 1986.
IV. Sadoveanu, Mihail. Ancuta's Inn. Bucharest, 1954.
Dumitriu, Petru. Incognito. New York, 1964.

YUGOSLAVIA

II. Handbook on Yugoslavia. Belgrade, 1987.
III. Singleton, Fred. A Short History of the Yugoslav Peoples. Cambridge, 1985.
Jelavich, Barbara. History of the Balkans, vols. 1 and 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
Djilas, Milovan. The New Class. NY, 1957.
IV. Andric, Ivo. The Bridge on the Drina. New York, 1959. {Serbian work}
Krleza, Miroslav. The Return of Philip Latinovicz. New York, 1959.{Croatian work}
Cankar, Ivan. The Bailiff Yerney and His Rights. Ljubljana, 1968. {Slovenian work}
Pavic, Milorad. Dictionary of the Khazars, 1986.

EASTERN EUROPE
WORD SEARCH

The following words are hidden in this puzzle. They may appear horizontally, vertically, diagonally, and/or backwards.

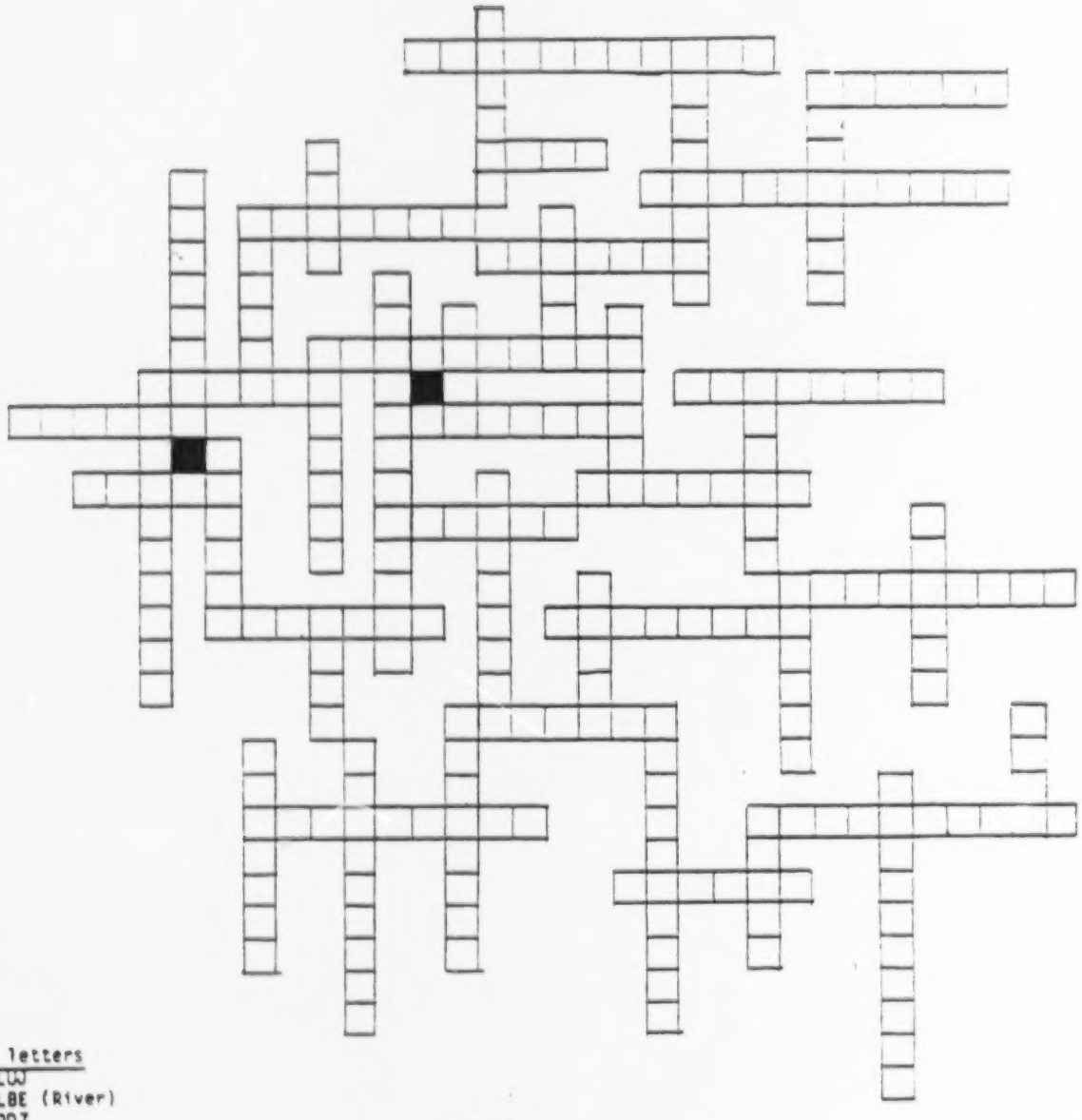
ALIA
ALBANIA
BALKANS
BERLIN
BLACK SEA
BOHEMIA
BRATISLAVA
BRNO
BUCHAREST
BUDAPEST
BULGARIA
CARPATHIANS
CEAUSESCU
CMEA
COMMUNISM
CRACOW
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
DANUBE
DEBRECEN
EAST GERMANY
GDANSK
GOULASH
HONECKER
HUNGARY
HUSAK
JARUZELSKI
KADAR
MAGYAR
PIEROGI
PLOVDIV
POLAND
POPE JOHN PAUL II
PRAGUE
ROMANIA
SARAJEVO
SLOVAKIA
SOFIA
SOLIDARITY
SZEGED
TIRANA
TITO
VISTULA
WALESA
WARSAW PACT
YUGOSLAVIA
ZHIVKOV

T	S	R	A	K	A	B	O	H	E	M	I	A	I	N	A	M	O	R
L	A	V	I	S	T	U	L	A	S	I	J	T	E	G	S	G	L	A
S	R	G	E	N	V	J	D	L	R	A	S	S	D	O	N	A	Y	Y
K	A	H	W	A	D	E	O	M	R	H	K	E	E	U	A	Y	U	G
O	J	Y	P	D	U	V	S	U	Q	U	W	R	B	L	I	V	G	A
U	E	T	S	G	A	D	Z	X	M	N	N	A	R	A	H	O	O	M
W	V	I	A	K	N	E	H	B	I	G	I	H	E	S	T	V	S	J
O	O	R	I	Y	L	U	I	G	E	A	E	C	C	H	A	R	L	X
C	P	A	V	S	S	H	V	T	V	R	L	U	E	D	P	A	A	N
A	K	D	K	A	R	D	K	I	F	Y	L	B	N	G	R	D	V	P
R	W	I	K	C	E	F	O	A	D	W	E	I	A	T	A	A	I	L
C	Q	L	T	G	K	U	V	I	S	V	Y	M	N	N	C	K	A	D
Z	W	O	S	R	C	A	G	R	C	Z	O	Y	L	F	I	S	N	S
E	A	S	T	G	E	R	M	A	N	Y	E	L	A	I	L	A	P	S
C	L	R	F	L	N	N	H	G	T	A	Z	G	P	K	L	I	G	N
H	E	J	V	O	O	C	S	L	R	C	N	T	E	O	W	F	A	A
O	S	D	M	D	H	N	B	U	H	T	A	C	P	D	J	O	B	K
S	A	L	S	C	I	K	Q	B	U	D	A	P	E	S	T	S	P	L
L	N	P	I	E	R	O	G	I	A	B	E	T	W	M	Z	I	J	A
O	B	T	N	Y	X	N	O	N	K	R	U	C	B	A	F	D	T	B
V	V	K	U	M	Z	R	U	A	N	A	R	I	T	D	S	N	Q	O
A	O	O	M	B	O	B	R	A	T	I	S	L	A	V	A	R	A	R
K	L	U	M	T	E	L	W	Y	K	B	L	A	C	K	S	E	A	J
I	P	Q	O	P	O	P	E	J	O	H	N	P	A	U	L	I	I	W
A	E	M	C	E	A	U	S	E	S	C	U	D	R	F	I	M	H	S

Indiana University
Russian & East European Institute

EASTERN EUROPE
GEOGRAPHY PUZZLE

Fit the words into the grid.



4 letters
CLUJ
ELBE (River)
LODZ
ODER (River)
TITO

5 letters
BLACK (Sea)
SOFIA
TISZA (River)
VARNA

6 letters
BOSNIA
DANUBE (River)
GALATI
GDANSK
KRAKOW
LUBLIN
POZNAN
PRAGUE
VLTAVA (River)
WALESA (Lech)
WARSAW
ZAGREB

7 letters
BALATON
BALKANS (Mts.)
BOHEMIA
DRUZHBA (Oil/Gas Pipeline)
PLOESTI
PLOVDIV
SILESIA
VISTULA (River)

8 letters
ADRIATIC (Sea)
BELGRADE
BUDAPEST
DALMATIA
MASURIAN (Lakes)
SARAJEVO
SLOVAKIA

9 letters
BUCHAREST
DUBROVNIK
LJUBLJANA

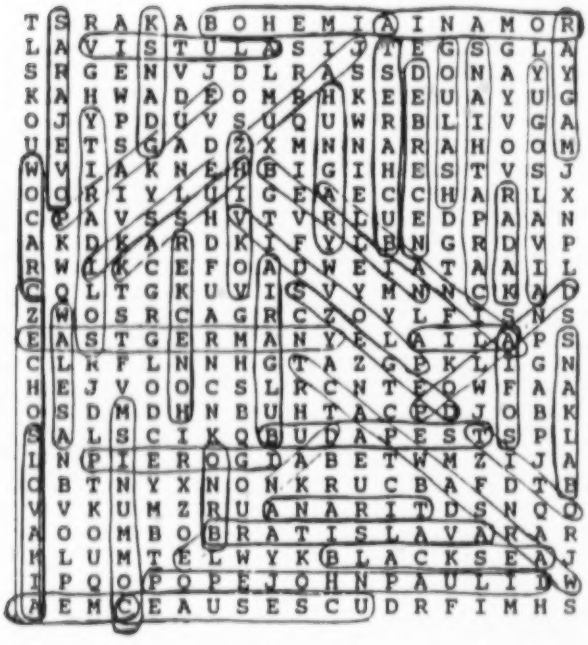
10 letters
BIALOWIEZA (Forest)
BRATISLAVA
MONTENEGRO
SOLIDARITY
WARSAW PACT

11 letters
CARPATHIANS (Mts.)
KARLOVY VARY

12 letters
TRANSYLVANIA

Indiana University
Russian & East European Institute

EASTERN EUROPE
WORD SEARCH



EASTERN EUROPE PUZZLE

SOLUTION